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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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## Sunnis and Druse battle in Beirut

BEIRUT. — Gunbattles broke out between Sunni and Druse militiamen in West Beirut for the first time in weeks yesterday, posing a challenge to the government's latest peace plan.

The sound of rifle and grenade fire rattled through the streets of the Sakiet al-Janzir area for almost two hours before the army moved in to separate fighters of the Sunni Murabitoun and the Druse Progressive Socialist Party.

The fighting erupted just a few hundred metres from the centre of downtown West Beirut, just before midday. One Druse militiaman said it began when Murabitoun gunmen defaced PSP posters. The Murabitoun blamed the PSP, but did not give a specific cause.

For three hours, the two sides fought from apartment house to apartment house, firing rockets and small arms.

The police reported two persons killed and 15 wounded. They said among the dead was a civil-defence worker killed while his team was picking up the wounded. Among the wounded were 10 civilians, the police added.

At least a dozen Lebanese Army armoured personnel carriers and hundreds of troops from the all-Moslem 6th Brigade were finally sent in early in the afternoon to separate the combatants and the fighting tapered off.

It was the first such lengthy clash since the army redeployed in the capital July 4 in the first phase of the government's plan to end the nine-year civil war, and demonstrated the deep enmities that remain among the various factions.

The flare-up also showed that the Lebanese Army has only a thin hold on peace in West Beirut. Hours after

the shooting stopped, armed militiamen could be seen roaming through the Hamra central shopping district and other neighbourhoods without interference.

Prime Minister Rashid Karamah returned to Beirut from Saudi Arabia during the fighting. In an arrival statement, he said Saudi King Fahd had pledged his country's "full readiness to support Lebanon in all fields, especially in security, reconstruction and liberation (of the Israeli-occupied south)."

Karamah said Fahd had pledged extensive financial aid for Lebanon's reconstruction. The prime minister did not comment on Sunday's fighting.

President Amin Gemayel toured the "green line" between East and West Beirut yesterday as soldiers continued clearing streets and defusing mines in the devastated area. The army moved into the demarcation area last week, saying they would reopen all crossings between the Moslem West and Christian East. (Reuters, AP)

### Four attacks on IDF

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
METULLA. — Terrorists attacked Israeli troops four times yesterday in South Lebanon, but there were no Israeli casualties.

In Sidon, Israeli troops opened fire and slightly wounded two scooter riders who drove into an army roadblock.

A handgrenade was thrown at an army patrol in Tyre. Israeli soldiers returned fire. Five kilometres south of Tyre, light arms and rocket-propelled grenades were fired at an Israeli Defence Forces outpost.

RPG fire was also directed at an IDF outpost near Jezzine.



Alignment leaders (left to right) Shimon Peres, Uzi Baram, Shlomo Hillel and Yitzhak Navon arrive yesterday evening at the home of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, spiritual leader of the Shas-Sephardi Tora Observers party. (Rahamim Israeli)

## Navon, after Weizman parley: No way except unity gov't

**By MICHAEL YUDELMAN**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

TEL AVIV. — "In the circumstances, there seems no way out but a national unity government, which I support," Yitzhak Navon (Alignment-Labour) said yesterday, immediately after a meeting with Ezer Weizman at Yahad headquarters.

Weizman and Navon discussed the possibility of forming a national unity government headed by the Alignment. But Navon said he did

not think any progress towards forming a government would be made until President Herzog begins consultations about forming the next coalition.

After intensive meetings with Shas leaders, Navon, Aharon Abuhatziera (Tami) and Avraham Shapira (Agudat Yisrael) all day yesterday, a haggard Weizman did not reach the breakthrough he was hoping for.

"We've reached a standstill," a

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## Central bank raises interest on its loans to other banks

**By PINHAS LANDAU**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

The Bank of Israel has raised the rates of interest it charges the commercial banks on monetary loans they take to lessen their liquidity deficits.

The central bank has established a sliding scale of four classes of loans that it advances to commercial banks, according to how large their deficit is. The rates will now be from 18 to 24 per cent, and will come into force from Thursday.

Simultaneously, the rate the bank pays on money deposited with it by

the banking system, in line with the liquidity requirements, will rise by 2 per cent, to 16.5 and 17 per cent on the second and third "steps," respectively, of the liquidity system.

The first step receives no interest. Despite the reduction from 20 to 13 per cent of the total shekel current account deposits of each bank, this loss of value is a source of continuing conflict between the Bank of Israel and commercial banks.

The rises in the central bank's rates closely follow the round of interest-rate increases announced by the commercial banks last week.

### Cabinet considers alternative to liaison office

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

The provision of alternative facilities for issuing business permits to Lebanese merchants seeking to import Israeli goods, now that the Israeli mission outside Beirut is closed, was mentioned at yesterday's weekly cabinet session, during a survey of security developments in Lebanon.

The discussion was declared a meeting of the Ministerial Defence

Committee to prevent details from reaching the news media.

The mission at Dbaiye north of Beirut was closed last week after Lebanese liaison staff and guards were withdrawn and after the Lebanese government said that the mission must cease to operate.

The cabinet also approved the appointment of Shaul Raziel as director-general of the Ports Authority.

## Herzog starts informal talks on new gov't today

President Chaim Herzog has decided to start "informal consultations" tomorrow with various parties on forming a government even before the election results are officially gazetted.

Herzog will meet with leaders of the Alignment and the Likud tomorrow. Other meetings have not yet been announced.

The president's spokesman said Herzog was taking the unusual step of advancing the consultations because he believed the country's serious situation required that a government be formed as quickly as possible.

Herzog is widely expected to press the parties to form a unity government.

Within the political community, much importance is attached to Herzog's choice of which party leader is to have the first try at forming a coalition. Many political observers feel that the president's choice will in fact determine who will ultimately emerge as premier — whether of a unity government or of a narrow-based coalition.

By law, the party leader chosen by

Compiled from reports by  
Judy Siegel, Roy Isaacowitz,  
Michal Yudelman, Joshua Brilliant,  
David Landau and Mark Segal.

the president has 42 days to put together a government. If he fails, the president can then choose someone else.

Yesterday, the Likud's hopes that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir would be the president's choice rose sharply with the announcement by Shas (Sephardi Tora Observers) that it was "strongly inclined to go into a coalition with Likud."

Shas's Knesset faction leader, Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz, made the announcement after he and three colleagues called on the prime minister at Shamir's office.

By evening, however, the situation of Shas seemed less certain: its spiritual leader, former Sephardi chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef, met with Labour leaders Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Navon. Yosef assured Navon by telephone before this meeting that Shas had taken no formal decision to align itself with Likud, "and there is much to talk about with you."

Labour leaders are understood to have sought an undertaking from Yosef that Shas, when it is asked by the president, will not rule out coalition talks with Peres if he is Herzog's choice.

Peretz, delivering his announcement earlier to the premier and then to the press, had said that the decision to align with Likud had been approved by the Sages.

Some observers surmised that the Shas Knesset members' move had been inspired by Rabbi Eliezer Schach of Bnei Brak, the (Ashke-



Yahad leader Ezer Weizman arrives in skullcap at home of former Sephardi chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef, to discuss the making of the next government. (Rahamim Israeli)

nazi Agudat Yisrael sage who supported Shas in the election.

Relations between Schach and Yosef have been very bad until recently, with Schach spurning Yosef as "a Zionist."

Shas's earlier announcement triggered hopes in Likud, and fears in Labour, that it would set off a "domino process" among the religious parties.

And indeed, no sooner had he heard of it than National Religious Party leader Yosef Burg made a statement to Kol Yisrael radio ex-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Soviet 'peace plan' rejected by Israel

**Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies**

A Soviet call on Sunday for an international Middle East peace conference was dismissed yesterday as "not serious" by a senior government source in Jerusalem.

The official did not rule out the possibility that Israel would consider an international peace conference, although Jerusalem has been cool to the idea in the past.

But the official stressed that Moscow could not play a central role as long as it lacks diplomatic relations

with Israel. The Soviet Union broke relations following the 1967 Six Day War.

"If relations were restored, the official said, 'we would then consider the possibilities' of a Soviet role in the peace process."

The Soviet proposal called for a conference that would include Israel, its Arab neighbours and the PLO, with the assistance of Washington and Moscow in the negotiations.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

### U.S. China win first gold in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES (Reuters) — Connie Carpenter of the U.S. won the first gold medal of the Los Angeles Olympics yesterday in the women's cycling road race.

Rebecca Twigg of the U.S. won the silver and Sandra Schumacher of

West Germany the bronze.

Wu Haifeng of China won the gold medal in the men's free pistol shooting competition. Wang Yifu of China took the silver after a tie-breaker with Sweden's Ragnar Skanaker, who finished with the bronze. (Earlier reports page 4)

## A-G, police to discuss Kahane problem

**By DAVID RICHARDSON**  
**and MICHAEL ELIAN**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporters**

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir is to meet today or tomorrow with senior police officers to discuss how to cope with the challenge posed by the election of Kach leader Meir Kahane.

The discussion is intended to clarify, among other things, what, if any, are the limitations the law imposes on the very wide parliamentary immunity Knesset members enjoy with their election.

Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek is also to meet with senior police officers today to discuss what to do if Kahane tries to enter the Temple Mount soon.

Municipal officials are worried about the possible effects of such a step

on the Arab population of the city. "We know one cannot arrest a Knesset member but he can be stopped," one official said.

Legal sources stressed last night that under section 88 of the Elections Law, there can be little doubt that Kahane enjoys immunity from the moment of election. Some legal scholars have questioned this. They argue that since the term "election" is vague it could also refer to the publication of the election results in the official gazette.

This interpretation would allow the state to bring proceedings against Kahane if it felt it had a case. The debate is largely theoretical since at some early stage in the proceedings Kahane would be granted immunity.

Beyond this is the problem of

defining his crime. Since Israel has no law banning racism, Kahane could really face legal action only under the laws pertaining to incitement. However, since parliamentary immunity applies specifically to the statements of an MK in his capacity as an elected representative, there is no real opening for the state's lawyers to move against Kahane.

Nonetheless, the police are not completely powerless, and if Kahane and his supporters should try to enter an Arab village under cover of his immunity and his right of freedom of movement, he could be barred on the grounds that his presence is likely to lead to a public disturbance and to violence.

Neither can Kahane commit an obvious crime such as force his way into the president's residence, as he

threatened to do during a news conference he gave on Saturday night.

**Asker Wallfish adds:**  
Interior Minister Yosef Burg said yesterday that the police and other bodies are alert and coordinating their efforts to prevent possible acts of incitement by Knesset Member Meir Kahane in the Arab as well as the Jewish sectors.

"We shall do our best to handle any problems," Burg said at yesterday's weekly cabinet meeting in answer to a query from Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Par (Likud-Liberal).

Par, whose concern over Kahane's behaviour was plain in his expression as well as his tone when he spoke, asked Burg what could be done to restrain the Kach leader from carrying out "provocative acts."

Par said: "Now that he has been elected to the Knesset, that man behaves as though he is free to do whatever he fancies."

**Henry Kissinger**  
**speaks out**

In today's *Jerusalem Post* we continue the monthly column on international affairs by the world's most celebrated statesmen. See page 8



**EIGHT PAGES**  
**FROM SUNDAY'S**  
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**THE WEEK IN REVIEW**  
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FRAANKFURT	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
GENOVA	19	14	25	12	Cloudy
HELSINKI	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
HONG KONG	28	23	33	12	Cloudy
LONDON	16	11	22	12	Cloudy
MADRID	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
MONTREAL	17	12	23	12	Cloudy
NEW YORK	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
OSLO	17	12	23	12	Cloudy
PARIS	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	28	23	33	12	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
TOKYO	28	23	33	12	Cloudy
TORONTO	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
VIENNA	18	13	24	12	Cloudy
ZURICH	18	13	24	12	Cloudy

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### THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	53	16-26
Golan	45	17-29
Nahariya	53	16-27
Safed	49	16-29
Haifa Port	59	16-29
Tiberias	54	20-34
Nazareth	46	18-32
Afula	47	19-32
Shomron	47	19-32
Tel Aviv	66	21-29
B-G Airport	58	21-30
Jericho	45	20-35
Gaza	70	21-28
Beersheva	43	17-31
Eilat	30	24-36

### SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Tourism Minister Avraham Shari yesterday hosted a luncheon in Jerusalem for members of the two visiting U.S. basketball teams, the New Jersey Nets and the Phoenix Suns.

Jewish Agency Executive chairman Aryeh Dulin was yesterday given the freedom of Beit Shemesh for his contribution to that town's development through Project Renewal.

Haya Shoham, chief warden of the Neveh Tirza women's prison, will address the Rotary Club at the Tel Aviv Hilton at 1.15 p.m. today.

### Man killed by tender

A man was hit by a tender and killed in Ashkelon yesterday evening. The victim, 41, a newcomer from France, was crossing the street next to the hotel where he lived when the accident occurred.

The police did not release the victim's name last night because they had not yet located his family in France.

The driver of the tender was a 19-year-old Ashkelon man.

Yesterday morning 10 persons suffered light to moderate injuries when a tender overturned on the Rosh Pina-Kiryat Shmona road. The injured were taken to the government hospital in Safed.

### Mandelbaum: Bank has economic plan

The central bank has its own plan to deal with the current economic crisis. Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelbaum said last night. He described the plan as having important differences of emphasis compared to the Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad's, and said he hoped it would become a factor in the policy eventually adopted.

Speaking on TV's Moked programme last night, Mandelbaum said the plan contained three main elements: a massive slash of \$1.5 billion in the government budgets, the granting of major incentives to private savings, and the maintenance of a very strict monetary restraint policy, despite the damage this would cause in the business sector. Only after these moves had been put into simultaneous operation could a general wage and price freeze go into effect.

He said this plan had been presented to the government as an alternative, or possibly complementary programme, to Cohen-Orgad's plan.

Mandelbaum reiterated his claim that he had consistently warned against taking the easy way out in fighting inflation. At the current rate of inflation, he said, what is needed is to cut it to almost single figures, on an annual rate, within a few months; a gradual reduction was no longer possible he said.

Mandelbaum estimated the standard of living of the nation as a whole would have to fall by "at least 10 per cent" was his policy to be implemented.

If the various groups in the economy failed to cooperate, he forecast high unemployment, although he refused to be more specific.

### Capital Civil Guard head censured for misconduct

The head of the Civil Guard in Jerusalem, Assistant Commander Ya'acov Revah, yesterday was docked five days' salary and censured for disciplinary infractions.

Revah was tried on Monday before the police inspector-general on charges of appropriating police equipment - tables and chairs - for his personal use and for using police drivers on private trips. (Iam)

## HOME AND WORLD NEWS

### Shamir raps Kahane and High Court

Post Knesset Correspondent  
Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir took a sideswipe at the High Court and at the attorney general yesterday, when he roundly condemned Knesset Member Rabbi Meir Kahane's provocative attacks on the Israeli Arab community.

When Kahane's march on Umm al-Fahm came up in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Shamir said that the moment the High Court permitted Kahane to run for the Knesset, he knew the nation would "have a bitter pill to swallow." And as for "those who interpret laws," Shamir said, "one gets the impression that at times they pay insufficient attention to the security of the state."

Shamir said: "The Kahane phenomenon is negative, dangerous and harmful. Ways must be found to limit the damage he could cause. He should also not be given such excessive publicity."

Ya'acov Tsur (Alignment-Labour) said that above all the nation must

not get accustomed to living with the Kahane phenomenon. If there is no law prohibiting his attacks on Arabs, Tsur said, then one must be enacted. Rabbi Haim Druckman (Morasha) said that a law is needed to cope with the phenomenon, but it should be a law to cope with all forms of incitement, including incitement by Arabs in Hebron to get Jews out of the town.

Meir Cohen-Avidov (Likud-Herut) said the concern over Kahane should not make people forget that a new MK like Mohammed Mi'ari supports the PLO's Palestine Covenant which calls for the liquidation of the State of Israel.

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (Yahad) said Kahane's activity verges on a threat to national security. He warned that Kahane is fuelling the flames of nationalism in Israel's Arab community, and encouraging extremists. "Kahane plays into Mi'ari's hands," he declared.

The only dissenting voice came from Menahem Porush (Agudat

Israel), who urged his colleagues to "play it cooler." Porush said the danger posed by Kahane is far less fearful than it is being made out to be. "Let's not exaggerate," he urged.

Ehud Olmert (Likud-La'am) said that MKs who act in a manner that contravenes the basic moral and legal principles of Israel's Proclamation of Independence cannot expect the police to give them personal protection and respect their parliamentary immunity.

Olmert said that the duties of an MK for which he is entitled to absolute legal immunity do not include incitement, provocation, advocacy of discrimination, bloodshed, expulsion of citizens and the like.

He said that Interior Minister Yosef Burg showed the same "foolish vacillation" over the Umm al-Fahm affair as he had done in the Knesset, when he merely gave Kahane free publicity over the declaration of allegiance episode.

### UMM AL-FAHM

(Continued from Page One)

lage, three kilometres away. At that point the decision was made to halt him, prompting cheers and chants of "No no, Fascism won't go!" once the news reached the demonstrators back at Umm al-Fahm.

The legal issue of Kahane's parliamentary immunity was the major problem for the police. There was no doubt they could prevent his followers from going to the village. But preventing Kahane - whom they are not allowed to touch - could have been problematic.

His decision to break the promise that he would not go to the village gave them the necessary justification. Since he would have to walk alone, they told him that for his own protection - and for the sake of public order - they had to remove him from the scene. He was hustled into a car and driven to the Iron Valley police station.

Furthermore, police sources told The Post, the possibility that Kahane's presence in Umm al-Fahm could "light a fire we won't be able to put out very easily" raised the possibility that Kahane's plans could threaten state security.

But back at the village, the demonstrators didn't know that Kahane, at 12:30, had been forbidden to enter the village. The tension inside the village, far from any direct flow of information about events, reached an unbearable pitch. When Haddad drove up to the village to tell the chairman of the local council that Kahane had been turned back, he and his men were pelted with a storm of rocks.

MK Ran Cohen of the Civil Rights Movement quickly got between the police, who had already begun to move into the crowd after the stone throwers, and the demonstrators. Recognized by the adults of the village, Cohen's arm-waving halted some of the troublemaking youngsters, some of whom were arrested.

Kahane, meanwhile, was at the police station about 10 kilometres away. His supporters, who barely could have filled the front half of one bus, were in their three buses heading back to the centre of the country.

Senior police sources said the main lesson from yesterday's events - which they estimated cost the force some \$25 million in manpower and equipment displaced from their usual functions - is "that we can't allow Kahane to drag us around the country the way he did today."

The Citizens Rights Movement secretary last night said that Burg's decision to let Kahane and his followers reach the Umm al-Fahm area made the interior minister partner to the provocation which led to the injury of policemen.

The Mapam central committee praised "the Jewish-Arab cooperation expressed in the mass gatherings in Umm al-Fahm."

Avnery and Mi'ari sent an urgent telegram to Interim Knesset Speaker Abba Eban demanding that Burg's "personal and ministerial responsibility...for the events in Umm al-Fahm" be put on the Knesset agenda.

### Orgad, Mandelbaum nearly censured

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter  
A last minute maneuver by Knesset Finance Committee chairman Avraham Shapira (Agudat Yisrael) blocked a motion censuring Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelbaum for their performance during the drop in the country's foreign-currency reserves.

The committee met yesterday to discuss several changes in the budget but proceeded to discuss the issue of tax brackets and the drop in foreign-currency reserves during recent weeks.

After calling on the Histadrut and the government to start talks leading to a package deal agreement, a group of coalition and opposition members was appointed to draft a resolution on foreign currency. The proposed resolution stated that the committee had not been informed about developments in foreign-currency reserves and criticized the Treasury and the Bank of Israel.

When it appeared that the motion would be carried, Shapira ended the meeting and postponed the vote until next week.

Shapira is the chairman of the central bank's advisory committee.

### More fighting in Tripoli stalls gov't security talks

TRIPOLI (Reuters). - Nine persons were killed and 20 wounded yesterday in this north Lebanese port, where an all-party security committee suspended talks on a plan to disengage rival Moslem militias.

The fighting brought the casualty toll in Tripoli to 135 persons killed and 375 wounded since last week, when a new wave of fighting erupted between the pro-Syrian Arab Democratic Party militia and the fundamentalist Sunni Islamic Unification movement (Tawheed Islam), security sources said.

A security committee of militia, army, police and Syrian representatives cancelled a scheduled meeting yesterday after the fighting resumed, the committee's chairman said.

Prime Minister Rashid Karamah said in Beirut his national coalition cabinet yesterday empowered Defence Minister Adel Ossairan to set up another military committee to oversee a security plan designed to disengage Tripoli's warring factions.

Karamah, who spoke after a three-hour cabinet session held under President Amin Jemayel to discuss ways of stopping Lebanon's security deterioration, did not elaborate on the Tripoli move.

But official sources, who declined to be named, said the committee would have to put together Lebanese army units to deploy on Tripoli's confrontation lines and decide how many Syrian troops stationed in northern Lebanon would be needed to back up the disengagement operation.

Israeli warplanes crashed the sound barrier at midday over a Palestinian terrorist base they attacked in east Lebanon's Bekaa valley near the Syrian border on Tuesday. But no new bombing sorties were staged, reporters in the Bekaa valley said.

The Lebanese police put the final casualty toll from the Tuesday raid at 25 killed and 35 wounded. Reports telephoned from the area said rescue operations were over and Syrian army bulldozers had removed the rubble of a three-story makeshift terrorist prison devastated by the attack.

Among those wounded in the air raid was terrorist leader Abdul Houli, a former security chief for the main PLO faction, Fatah. Abdul Houli was taken to hospital in Syria in serious condition, the police said. He was the commander of the destroyed building.

### LABOUR SLIPS

(Continued from Page One)

and Likud leaders yesterday. Abuhazzeira refused to say which party Tami would support and said his party would make its final decision only after all the "clarification" talks were over.

Abuhazzeira stressed that Tami's decision did not depend on the "price" offered by either of the big parties, but on ideology. "Tami will go with the government that will be able to maintain the concepts on which our party is founded," he said.

There were reports yesterday that Aguda and Tami were about to sign agreements with Likud formally enshrining their preference for Likud over Labour. Politicians in several parties said that Tami had been offered three "safe seats" on Likud's list to the next Knesset.

For Labour, the "loss" of Aguda and Tami closes off both options that had been available - at least hypothetically - for setting up a narrow government.

Tami's "defection" means that the minority-government option - 55 votes plus the six "passive" votes of DFFE and PLP - is no longer possible, even on paper. Without Abuhazzeira, the 55 are reduced to 54.

Aguda's refusal to join Labour's sphere means that the majority-government option - the 55 plus Aguda and the National Religious party - is also unavailable. Labour had hoped that if Aguda were to move towards Labour, the NRP would follow suit. But last night Aguda did not seem to be moving.

The impact on the unity talks was immediate, with Likud leaders redoubling their demands for rotation of the premiership. One Likud minister contended last night that there would no longer be any element of "charity" on Labour's part in agreeing to this: Likud demanded it as of right - since it was "the bigger partner in the proposed unity coalition."

The minister explained that Likud and its allies the centred Aguda but not Tami) totalled 54 MKs whereas Labour would bring fewer MKs - probably as many as 10 fewer - into the unity coalition. Mapam, the minister predicted, would split off and not join the unity government. The Citizens Rights Movement would not either, and even Shiniu's position was in doubt.

The Likud minister therefore insisted on rotation both of the premiership and of the defence and foreign ministries - as part of the "full equality" to which his party aspired.

In the Alignment last night there was awareness of this line of reasoning - and divided views as to how Labour would react if Shamir pressed it at his meeting with Peres on Sunday.

Some well-placed Labour sources predicted firmly that "if Shamir insists on rotation, the talks will break up and there will be elections." These sources seemed confident that, despite the 60-60 deadlock over forming a government, there would be a majority in the Knesset for



The Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Noam Sherif, yesterday plays the first concert since Herod at Herodion, near Bethlehem. Among the works performed were Ernst Bloch's *Schelomo* and the Hebrew slaves' chorus from Verdi's *Nabucco*. The concert was sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture. (Yitzhak Harari)

### Summit effort to avert school strike

By LEA LEVAVI and AVI TEMKIN

Jerusalem Post Reporters

Premier Shamir, Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Education Minister Zevulun Hammer will meet today in a last-minute attempt to avert a school strike next Sunday, the first day of the school year. The meeting follows the teachers' rejection yesterday of a Treasury proposal that their demand for a parity bonus be referred to arbitration.

The Secondary School Teachers Association and the Histadrut Teachers Union were united in rejecting Cohen-Orgad's offer. Shoshana Bayer, chairman of the association, said that going to arbitration would mean compromising on a demand to which the teachers were absolutely entitled.

Bayer, pointedly ignoring a contrary opinion delivered yesterday by the Treasury's legal adviser, buttressed her argument by citing the Education Ministry legal adviser, who had ruled earlier this week that the teachers were entitled to receive the parity bonus granted some months ago to certain categories of civil servants.

But Cohen-Orgad accused the teachers of ignoring the country's economic situation. He said the direct cost of granting the teachers' bonus would be \$15 billion, but that this would not be the final figure since other groups were likely to follow the teachers' lead, setting off a new spiral of wage increases.

Yitzhak Welber, of the union, said he feared the school year would not open on Sunday. He added that

in that event, he would recommend that the strike by-pass kindergartens, first-grade and 12th-grade classes. But the association opposes this, maintaining that only a total strike will be effective.

Yesterday, the National Parents Committee cabled Hammer saying that Cohen-Orgad had unilaterally given increases to employees who had not signed the national wage agreements because of disputes over the parity bonus. They urged Hammer to ensure that the teachers, too, get the other increases provided for in the national agreement, even if the parity bonus issue remains in dispute and the teachers therefore do not sign the agreement. The parents complained that nothing has been done throughout the school summer vacation to settle the issue.

### Orgad and Kessar to meet on tax-bracket adjustment

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar are to meet here tomorrow, against a background of industrial unrest over the minister's refusal to revise tax brackets upwards in line with inflation.

Histadrut sources said that the meeting had been decided on in a telephone call between the two yesterday. Kessar gained the impression that Cohen-Orgad would announce his intention to revise the tax brackets after all, and on that basis, had agreed to renew the talks, the sources said.

Notwithstanding the decision to meet, the "explanatory meetings" planned for today will go ahead as scheduled in all work places in the north of the country between 11 a.m. and 1 p.m.

The last meeting between Cohen-Orgad and Kessar three weeks ago floundered over the minister's insistence that all the problems confronting the economy be discussed. Kessar countered that the Histadrut would only discuss unemployment, all other matters having to await the establishment of a new government. The day after the meeting, Cohen-Orgad announced he would not revise tax brackets, welfare points and children's grants in line with July's 12.4 per cent rise in the cost of living index.

Treasury sources said yesterday that tomorrow's discussion would be general and wide-ranging. The Histadrut countered that Cohen-Orgad must first revise the tax brackets. After that the topics of discussion would be decided on.

### U.S. AID

(Continued from Page One)

ment as reflecting gross economic mismanagement.

That is also, to a large extent, the view of the international financial community. The immediate balance-of-payments problem, which Jerusalem officials and political leaders assume the U.S. will be prepared to help them solve, is only second in the order of priorities.

Even assuming that the U.S. administration agrees to advance Israel the entire amount of aid in one lump sum, an additional \$1b. will still have to be borrowed long-term, and on tolerable conditions, to restore foreign-currency reserves to their customary level of some three-months' worth of imports. And since it is most unlikely that Israel will be able to borrow this additional \$1b. from commercial banks, the only possible source will be the U.S. government.

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad has constantly cited the \$500m. improvement in the trade balance as his major policy achievement, but economic observers doubt whether this improvement will continue for the rest of this year even if a government is formed within days and a coherent long-term economic programme is formulated within weeks. Implementation, these sources point out, will necessarily take time, and no appreciable effects on the balance of trade can be expected in the very near future.

### SHEIKH PIERRE JEMAYEL

The Lebanese Christian Agency mourns the death of

Visitors may sign a memorial book at the agency office in Jerusalem, Sderot Ben-Zvi 37, 8th floor, tomorrow, August 31, between 9 a.m. and 4 p.m.

### Dr. REUVEN (Rolf) KLASMER

the son of Reb Shmuel

The funeral will leave the Sanhedria funeral parlor for Har Hamenuhot, tomorrow, Thursday, 2 Elul 5744, August 30, 1984.

The Family

Handwritten text in Arabic script: "سكنا من الاول"



## Histadrut won't accept changes in wage pacts

By ROY ISACOWITZ  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut will take "legal and organizational" steps to prevent the unilateral alteration of work agreements by the government, secretary-general Yisrael Kessar warned yesterday.

Kessar was responding to repeated news-media reports since the elections that Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad intends to lower the wages of salaried workers and bring the Histadrut to negotiate by means of ordinances and legislation. The reports, which emanated from the Finance Ministry, have not been denied by Cohen-Orgad.

Speaking to reporters after an emergency meeting of the Histadrut central committee yesterday, Kessar said that the labour federation is ready to negotiate with whatever government is formed, with the aim of formulating a comprehensive plan for economic recovery.

However, Kessar stressed that the Histadrut will not negotiate with the present "interim" government. The elections, Kessar said, were necessitated by the government's inability to deal with economic problems and

the interim government is even less able to deal with the problems.

The central committee devoted its meeting to a discussion of the Treasury's "threats" and the Histadrut's response. It was decided to convene the executive next Sunday to approve the Histadrut's statement of principles for economic cooperation.

Kessar said that the government has no right to alter the agreements, which are legally binding documents. "As an employer, the government has the same rights and duties as the unions, who are the other parties to the agreements," he said.

The agreements concerned are the public-sector wage agreement signed last month, and the cost-of-living increment agreement signed three months ago. The Treasury reportedly would like to cancel or alter the wage rise components of the agreements, as part of a general freeze of wages and prices.

If any move is made to alter the documents, Kessar said, the unions will take the matter to the courts and will take other "organizational" steps. He did not elaborate.

## Boost for capital's high-tech firms

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem's science-based industries will henceforth have "preferred status" in bidding for Defence Ministry tenders.

This means such bidders' prices may be up to 15 per cent higher than those of bidders whose plants are not in places designated as Development Zone A, and still preserve their competitive edge.

The Defence Ministry's acquiescence at the behest of the capital's Manufacturers Association branch follows a government decision to recognize the city's high-technology firms as Development A enterprises, even though Jerusalem is no longer classified as such.

"This is wonderful news, and I'm sure many more jobs will thus be created for Jerusalemites and residents of Jerusalem's satellite communities," Manufacturers Association chairman Avner Peretz said about the decision. "More investors will now find Jerusalem an ideal place for their plants."

In related news, a survey just issued by the Central Bureau of Statistics shows that 27 per cent of the income of Jerusalem industries comes from export sales. The figure places the city on a par for the first time with the rest of the country on this point.

The survey also shows that new investment in Jerusalem's industries has risen, while it has fallen in the rest of the country.

## Mushroom expert has big production plans

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Forty years after he founded the mushroom farm at Kibbutz Matzuva in Galilee, Shmuel Kohn is proposing to make mushrooms a large-scale industry.

Speaking to *The Jerusalem Post* in his Mt. Carmel home, where he has installed a private research laboratory in the cellar, Kohn said he is

ready to produce five crops a year, and do so without the air-conditioning that makes mushrooms so expensive.

It would take 10 to 20 dumps of non-farming land, \$1 million and little water to set up a mushroom farm under plastic that would produce 2,000 to 4,000 tons annually, in four-layer growing areas, he said.

## Course to ease prisoners back into freedom

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prisoners due to be released from Ma'asiyahu Prison in the next few months began taking a course this week to prepare them for life beyond the bars.

Organized by the authority for prisoner rehabilitation in the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the course briefs prisoners on the various services available to help them in their return to society, and on vocational opportunities. They have

also met with industrialists and with a judge who advised them on parole and rehabilitation.

Experts will speak to the prisoners about the dangers of drug abuse, the importance of health insurance and problems released prisoners often have with their families.

The director of the authority, Avraham Hoffman, said that many prisoners fear their first encounter with freedom, and lack basic knowledge of public services designed to assist them.

## 1983 showed drop in strike action

The economy lost 977,700 work days in 1983 due to strikes in which 188,305 workers took part, according to the Labour and Social Affairs Ministry.

Last year saw a decrease in the number of full-fledged strikes — 93 compared to 112 in 1982. The number of strikers was 838,700 in 1982, and the number of days lost was 1.8 million.

There were also 47 partial strikes last year, in which 104,506 workers participated. This constituted a 41 per cent drop in the number of such work actions and a 56 per cent decrease in the number of participants compared to 1982.

Strikes in the public sector represented 39 per cent of all strikes, followed by strikes in transport, communication and industry.

## Police honour captor of hit-and-run driver

ASHDOD (Itim). — A 38-year-old father of three yesterday received a police award for "outstanding citizenship" for helping to catch a suspected hit-and-run driver.

Ashdod resident Yitzhak Gavrielov was driving from Beersheba to Ashdod on July 12 when he heard a report on the radio programme *Je'u leshalom* about a hit-and-run accident. Gavrielov wrote down the details of the car involved.

Near Kibbutz Nitzanim he spotted the car, chased it and stopped it, drew a pistol, which he is licensed to carry, and ordered the driver to drive to the Ashkelon police station.

APPREHENDED. — Edmond Bokobze, 32, a fugitive sought by the police in Kiryat Shmona and Acre, was apprehended yesterday.



Tirat Carmel residents yesterday protest against their odiferous garbage dump. Some of their signs read, "Why shorten our lives?" and "We have a right to breathe air." (Arik Baltimester)

## No longer needed, 'Care' scheme phased out

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's progress in food production and social services has led Care, the international aid and development organization, to phase out its operations here. Care assistance to Israel in the past 35 years totalled \$66 million in goods and services.

The closing of Care's programme here was announced yesterday in a meeting between Care President Wallace Campbell and Labour and Social Welfare Ministry director-general Asher Ohayon.

Care, which has channelled gifts of food and other help in 80 countries around the world and is still involved in 37, will remain in contact with Israel, however. Campbell, accompanied by Dr. Philip Johnston, the executive director of Care, and Edwin Shapiro, a board member, asked ministry officials to propose ways for cooperation to continue.

An Israeli branch of Care may serve as a resource in providing know-how to some of the needy countries connected with Care.

Campbell told *The Jerusalem Post* that Care was never pressured by Arab countries because of the organization's assistance to Israel. Jordan, too, has "outgrown" Care aid, and its programme was phased out last year.

Founded in the U.S. as a private voluntary organization after World War II, Care provided kasher food packages to new olim in Israel from 1949. These packages were made available through 1970, with most of the food provided through U.S. Public Law 480, Title 2, which donates surplus staples to voluntary organizations.

After 1970, the Israel government assumed responsibility for the food programme. In the aftermath of the Six Day War, the Israeli section of Care took over for Care in Egypt and

Jordan in the provision of food for the needy in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District. Care continued this programme, while sending vocational-training kits for carpentry, shoemaking, and metalwork to Jewish and Arab training centres. One was established for Arab girls in Tulkarm. In addition, food was provided as payment for work for pupils undergoing vocational training and those involved in afforestation.

Care also provided books, including texts and reference books for the Hebrew University.

The average contribution to Care is \$25. Most donations, said Campbell, come from private individuals, and only a small amount from corporations. Today, Care will be honoured in a tree-planting ceremony at the Jerusalem peace forest, followed by a luncheon hosted for Care officials by Ohayon. In the evening, Care will host a reception in honour of its ministry counterparts at the Jerusalem Plaza Hotel.

## Friedan says Ferraro will bring Democrats victory

By GREER FAY CASHMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

American author Betty Friedan yesterday predicted that Geraldine Ferraro will not merely help the Democrats to win but "will be responsible for the Democratic victory." Friedan's reference to the coming U.S. elections came in a news conference at Jerusalem's Beit Agon, where she discussed her participation in the 20th annual "America-Israel Dialogue" sponsored by the American Jewish Congress.

The four-day exchange, which begins tonight at the Van Leer Foundation in Jerusalem, will focus on women's evolving status in Judaism. Under the title of *Woman as Jew, Jew as Woman: An Urgent Inquiry*, it will examine the position of women in the work place, the arts, the family, religious practice and politics.

Friedan, who is the founder of the National Organization for Women and a front-line activist in the struggle for equal rights for women, said that given the strong patriarchal note in Judeo-Christian tradition, it was no accident that Jewish women were in the forefront of the formation of the women's movement.

But, she said, just as she has never seen any polarization between feminism and family, she rejects the notion that there are genuine conflicts between feminism and Judaism.

"Feminism," she said, "is one 'ism' of modern life that brought people back to fundamental Judaism. Women began to take root in their own authenticity as women and then began to confront their own authenticity as Jews."

On the issue of politics, Friedan said that though American women have had the vote for more than half a century, it is only since 1980 that women are voting independently from men. She added that many women are leaving the Republican Party "because they are outraged that Reagan is spending more on the nuclear missile build-up than on programmes essential to life."



Betty Friedan

Sociologist Rivka Bar-Yosef, who was the first adviser to the prime minister on the status of women, observed that when Israeli women were militant egalitarians in the 1920s, American women were less militant. Now, she said, American women are playing a role in re-awakening militancy in Israel.

According to Bar-Yosef, Israeli women have a tougher time than their American sisters in their confrontations with Judaism because Israelis do not have the same choice of denominations that is open to women in the U.S.

Two in army uniform rob post office of IS2m.

BE'ER YA'ACOV (Itim). — Two armed, masked men wearing Israel Defence Forces uniforms robbed the post office here of IS2 million yesterday.

They made off in a stolen car, which was later found in the Ramle area.

## Linn quits oil co. post

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The outgoing director-general of the Energy and Infrastructure Ministry, Uriel Linn, has resigned from his parallel post as chairman of the board at the National Oil Company.

Linn has left both positions after being elected to the Knesset on the Likud list.

Replacing him at the oil company is economist David Cohen, chairman of the company's finance committee.

## Man drowns in wadi

KFAR MENAHEM (Itim). — A member of the Al-Gha'en Beduin tribe drowned Saturday in Wadi Tal a-Saf near here.

Abdul Hasan al-Gha'en, 25, was bathing in the wadi near his tribe's campsite when he drowned. Members of his family brought him to the kibbutz clinic here but attempts to resuscitate him failed.

## Ashdod man dies of fall

ASHDOD. — A local resident died yesterday morning of injuries he sustained while helping a friend install a television antenna on the roof of his building last Friday.

Yitzhak Mentzalkar, 42, lost his balance and fell from the roof of the building. He was taken to Haim Sheba Medical Centre at Tel Hashomer, where he died yesterday.

## Strike to stop control on fruit, vegetables

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Starting today, there will be no supervision over the quality of fruit and vegetables sold in the Tel Aviv area. Workers at the Fruit and Vegetable Council decided yesterday to go out on strike.

The decision was in protest against the failure of the council directorship to negotiate with workers on raising their pay to the level of that of Agriculture Ministry clerks.

## Citizens form human barrier to close off Tirat Carmel dump

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TIRAT CARMEL. — Scores of angry residents staged a "gas mask" demonstration here yesterday to demand the closure of a nearby garbage dump.

They charged that Interior Ministry district representative Moshe Glasner has adopted a "couldn't care less" attitude to their plight.

The residents complained that toxic fumes are emitted from the site as a result of the constant burning of the industrial waste dumped there — fumes that, they charged, have caused kidney, lung and skin ailments.

An estimated 200 residents, including women and children, marched from the town centre to the dump's entrance, where they formed a human barricade to prevent lorries from entering.

Several demonstrators wore masks, while others brought along inhalers to prove that they suffered from respiratory diseases.

Ya'acov Barhum, chairman of the residents action committee, said staff and relatives of patients at the Tirat Carmel psychiatric hospital near the dump, as well as commanding officers at a nearby Israel Defence Forces base, had all demanded the closure of the site. He said the residents also had the backing of doctors and the Tirat Carmel local council.

Barhum maintained that four alternative sites — away from residential neighbourhoods — had been submitted to Glasner for consideration in November last year, but he had done nothing.

Glasner was not available for comment yesterday.

## Toxic waste dump may not reopen

By LIOIRA MORIEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

BEERSHEBA. — The nation's only toxic-waste disposal site, closed by court order since April 1982, when a fire broke out in the compound, may not open on schedule in September. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

Although industry wants the site reopened, the authorities have not yet granted the operators a licence.

This was told to *The Post* by Danny Ne'eman, chief engineer of the government's Mivnei Ta'asia company, which runs the Ramat

Hovav industrial park, including the toxic waste disposal site, 12 kilometres south. He said he is receiving urgent pleas from plants that cannot open or may have to close unless a way is found immediately to dispose of their hazardous waste.

"We have a lot of bureaucratic hurdles to overcome but I believe that we will succeed," he said.

The director of one of the plants that may close if the site does not reopen soon said that tons of hazardous materials are making their way to pirate dumps every day.

## Farmers, Mekorot in dispute over water

AFULA (Itim). — Farmers in the Jezreel and Beit She'an valleys, in a dispute with Mekorot, have been instructed by their own organization not to make use of treated sewage water recently made available to them.

The water is treated in the Ma'ale Hachishon complex and piped to the Baruch Pond. The scheme is meant to lessen demand on the National Water Carrier from the Kinneret and release larger amounts for use in the Negev.

Officials at a Pigei Mayim, the local farmer's organization, com-

plained over the weekend that they had not been consulted by Mekorot over how the treated water is to be allocated. Pigei Mayim officials said Mekorot made the water available without getting Health Ministry clearance.

Members of the organization were therefore instructed not to use the water, at least on vegetable crops.

Behind the dispute is a conflict between Mekorot and the farmers over who is to have control over the scheme. The cotton crop in the area is ripening now and large amounts of water are needed.

## Delinquents to stay near home in new hostel

BEERSHEBA (Itim). — A hostel for juvenile delinquents aged 13-18 will be established here within a month. The hostel will house 12 youths who have been convicted by juvenile courts and now would have been sent to closed institutions in the north of the country.

The hostel, which is being estab-

lished with funds from the Association for Youth in Distress and the Social Affairs Ministry, is intended to separate the youths from delinquent society while leaving them close to their homes.

The hostel will be in Beersheba's old city, in a building being renovated at a cost of \$14,000.

## Youths arrested for throwing rocks near J'lem

Less than a day after a woman was injured by a rock thrown at her car on the new Jerusalem-Ma'aleh Adumim road, detectives from the Jerusalem Police minorities division arrested two 16-year-olds from nearby villages, who have confessed to throwing rocks.

After the rock-throwing incident Saturday, the third in the area, Jerusalem Police commander Rahamim Comfort ordered a speedy investigation. Detectives questioned resi-

dents of the village of Isawiya, and with the help of intelligence information arrested a 10-year-old boy.

Another boy was arrested in the village of Za'im, next to the Jerusalem neighbourhood of A-Tur, and the two confessed to throwing rocks. One of the youths had previously been convicted of igniting a Public Works Department bus during the paving of the Ma'aleh Adumim road. The police expected to arrest a third suspect in the case soon. (Itim)

## Petition against bail for 2 officers

The state attorney yesterday asked the Supreme Court to reverse a district court decision to free on bail two Israel Defence Forces officers accused of aiding the Jewish underground.

Officers Shlomo Leviatan and Aharon Gilo had been ordered released by the lower court, which said it would be unjust for them to be held in jail for as long as it would take two of the chief defendants in the underground case, Menahem Livni and Yehuda Etzion, to testify at their own trial.

The testimony of Livni and Etzion

is expected to throw light on the cases of Leviatan and Gilo.

The state attorney said in his petition against bail for Leviatan and Gilo that it was "important that the public sees that defendants accused of such serious crimes not go about freely and conduct their business as if nothing had happened."

He added that Livni and Etzion are to go on trial in mid-September, and it was "not unreasonable" to hold Leviatan and Gilo under arrest until sometime after that.

Justice Menahem Elon will hold a hearing on the petition today. (Itim)

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**Beth Hatefutsoth**  
The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora

**"THE VOYAGE OF THE DAMNED"**

The film reconstruction of the story of the S.S. St. Louis, will be shown at Beth Hatefutsoth, in the framework of the exhibit, "He Who Saves One Life", The Joint 1914-1918.

In the year 1939, the German Nazis allow the hourly liner, loaded down with Jewish refugees, to set sail for Cuba, on a voyage intended to serve Nazi propaganda purposes. Actors: Fay Dunaway, Max von Sydow, James Mason, Orson Welles. The film will be screened on Tuesday, July 31, 1984 at 8.30 p.m. in the Zee Lion auditorium at Beth Hatefutsoth.

At 7.30 p.m., there will be a guided tour of the exhibit, "He Who Saves One Life". The Joint 1914-1918.

The public is invited to attend.

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## Gromyko pessimistic about space-weapon negotiations

MOSCOW (AP) - Former U.S. senator George McGovern met with Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko for three hours and said Gromyko does not expect the U.S. and the Soviet Union to hold space-weapon talks in September.

"We discussed the latest offer from the U.S. on the talks proposed for September in Vienna," McGovern said. "Gromyko said he doesn't expect the talks to take place. He seemed convinced there would be no talks."

McGovern, briefing a small group of reporters Saturday night, said Gromyko's pessimism was based on U.S. desires to use the proposed Vienna talks to reopen other types of nuclear arms discussions.

He said Gromyko was firm on the Kremlin's refusal, under present conditions, to talk about other issues in Vienna, or to reopen the Geneva arms talks, which the Soviets broke off last year.

Gromyko stressed that one of the Soviet Union's primary concerns, which he said is not given enough attention by the Reagan administration, is the NATO alliance's refusal to include British and French missiles in U.S.-Soviet disarmament talks.

McGovern came to Moscow for a conference sponsored by the Washington Institute of Policy Studies and the Soviet Union's U.S.A. and Canada Institute.

In Washington, former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger said yesterday that space arms control talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union should be put off until after the November U.S. presidential elections.

"I see no point in opening talks on outer space in the middle of our election campaign when the bipartisanship necessary to sustain results is in short supply, when the Soviets may be tempted to embarrass a disliked administration and the administration may be inhibited by the fear of the political consequences of a perceived failure," he said.

**JOURNALISTS.** - Striking journalists and press workers prevented Bangladesh newspaper owners entering their offices yesterday in the latest move over a pay dispute which has left the country without newspaper for 17 days. Witnesses said the owners left when strikers in front of their offices turned them away.

## 'Substantial' gains in Sino-British Hongkong talks

PEKING (Reuters) - British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe last night reported substantial progress in talks with Chinese officials aimed at reaching a settlement over Hongkong, which is due to revert to Chinese rule in 13 years.

"Our meetings have led to substantial progress towards the goal for which we are both striving," he told Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian in a dinner speech after a third round of talks.

Wu replied that he believed Howe's current visit to Peking would help to bring an early settlement of the Hongkong question.

China has said it hopes to get agreement with Britain by September on the conditions under which it will take back the colony when Britain's lease on most of its land expires in 1997. Britain has not officially accepted the September deadline.

British sources revealed last night that Howe, whose Peking programme has been shrouded in secrecy, is to meet Premier Zhao Ziyang today.

## Probe of West German role in Iraqi nerve gas production

BONN (AP) - At Washington's behest, Chancellor Helmut Kohl has ordered an investigation into reports that Iraq is producing nerve gas with West German help, a government spokesman said yesterday.

The chancellor's action coincided with a report in today's edition of *Der Spiegel* that Frankfurt firms had sold Iraq laboratory equipment capable of producing poison gas.

The brief *Der Spiegel* report said Karl Kolb Scientific Technical Supplies and a subsidiary plant delivered the equipment to Iraq in 1981.

The equipment is capable of producing small quantities of a pesticide whose base product includes chemicals that, according to American experts, can be used in chemical warfare, the magazine said.

The two firms were closed yesterday. A woman answering the telephone at Karl Kolb said there was "no press statement at this time."

A government spokesman said in Bonn that Kohl "has demanded that we use all means at our disposal to examine the affair."

## Hindus and Moslems clash in south Indian capital city

NEW DELHI (AP) - The authorities summoned paramilitary troops yesterday to control worsening Hindu-Muslim rioting in Hyderabad, as five persons were killed in a new wave of communal violence in the southern Indian city.

The United News of India reported that officials in Hyderabad, about 600 kilometres east of Bombay, ordered an indefinite curfew yesterday to check the rioting that broke out July 22 when a Hindu procession was attacked by Moslems.

Supporters of the two rival groups clashed again yesterday, attacking each other with stones and knives, the news agency said.

It said the latest incident left five dead and five others wounded.

At least nine persons have been killed and 170 injured in the week-long clashes.

The state government of Andhra Pradesh, whose capital is Hyderabad, called in three companies of troops of the paramilitary central reserve police force to help the state police curtail the rioting.

## Soviets reportedly develop huge troop-transport plane

LONDON (AP) - The Soviet Union has developed a revolutionary military aircraft that can fly fast at low altitudes, carry up to 400 troops or several armoured vehicles, and could swing the balance in a conventional war in Europe, *The Sunday Times* reported.

The weekly said the plane, known as WIG - short for "Wing-in-Ground Effect" - operates on the principle that aircraft of a certain size flying close to land or sea build up a cushion under the fuselage that reduces drag and enables the plane to carry up to 500 times its normal capacity.

The paper quoted unnamed British intelligence sources describing it as a "quantum leap forward in amphibious warfare."

The plane, wrote the paper's defence correspondent James Adams,

"will enable the Russians to outflank NATO by rapidly ferrying troops and tanks for an attack on Norway or Denmark."

WIG, known in Moscow as the Ekranoplan, has been under development for 27 years and is a pet project of Adm. Sergei Gorshkov, chief of the Soviet Navy, the report said.

It said a pre-production prototype is believed to be flying and full production will begin in three years.

The aircraft can be used both as an assault vessel to land troops and for anti-submarine warfare, and is most effective flying over sea, the report said.

It said the plane is 60 metres long, with a 30-metre wingspan and can fly at more than 556 kph.

## Britons face stricter limits on water

LONDON (AP) - The government on Saturday appealed to the 21 million Britons faced with hosepipe bans to comply with restrictions on water consumption to avoid more severe controls.

In a statement to Parliament, Housing and Construction Minister Ian Gow said rainfall in parts of northwest England in the first seven months of this year was the lowest since records began 91 years ago.

He confirmed that plans are being prepared to introduce water rationing, if necessary, throughout Cornwall and much of Devon in south-western England beginning August 9.

"He said rivers have been drained by the 'exceptionally low rainfall' of the past few months, and bans against car-washing and watering gardens are in force in almost the whole of northwest England."

## Space-walker back on earth

MOSCOW (AP) - Three Soviet cosmonauts aboard the Soyuz T-12 capsule, including the first woman ever to walk in space, returned to earth yesterday after a 13-day mission including work aboard the orbiting Salyut-7 space station, the Soviet news agency Tass said.

Mission Commander Vladimir Dzhanibekov, flight engineer Svetlana Savitskaya and Igor Volk landed south-east of the town of Dzhezkazgan in Central Kazakhstan.

Savitskaya made history when she became the first woman to travel into space twice with the flight that began on July 17, and again last

Wednesday when she became the first woman to take a space walk. A veteran test pilot, she made her initial space flight in August, 1982, when she spent nine days aboard Salyut-7.

All three cosmonauts felt well after the landing, Tass said. The mission included 11 days of joint work aboard the Salyut-7 station with Cosmonauts Leonid Kizim, Vladimir Solovoyov and Oleg Atkov, who remained at the orbital complex. Yesterday was their 17th day in space, approaching the 211-day record established by another Soviet space team in 1982.

## Arrests in crackdown on French highwaymen

MARSEILLES (Reuters) - Three young men have been arrested in a police operation to crack down on gangs of modern highwaymen attacking tourists in southern France, police sources said yesterday.

One of the three, all arrested in the last few days, has been charged with armed robbery after a West German couple who had been sleep-

ing in their car in a lay-by were robbed at gunpoint of 3,500 francs (\$440) by masked men.

The suspect's two accomplices are still being sought.

Two other young men were arrested after a brief chase and are suspected of extorting money from two British hitch-hikers who accepted a lift in their car on Friday.

## Iraq claims copters again hit Iranians

NICOSIA (AP) - Iraqi helicopter gunships continued to attack Iranian positions in the northernmost sector of the battlefield for the third straight day yesterday, according to a war communiqué carried by the Iraqi news agency.

The communiqué said the attacking choppers scored "direct and effective hits" against the Iranians and returned safely to their bases. It did not mention the exact location of the attacks.

Iran on Sunday said its forces had captured 21 strategic heights near the border in Sardasht in the Kurdish west Iranian province of Azerbaijan in a three-day offensive, during which it claimed 220 Iraqi soldiers and Kurdish rebels were killed and 500 others were wounded.

The official Iranian News Agency said that the Iraqis launched a counter-offensive in the same area on Friday, but were repulsed.

## Liberian army leader to run for president

ABIDJAN (Reuters) - Liberian military leader Samuel Doe has announced he will stand in a presidential poll scheduled for October next year. Monrovia Radio said yesterday.

The election is part of a gradual process aimed at returning Liberia to civilian rule, which is due to culminate in January 1986 with the swearing-in of an elected government.

## Libyans hold maneuvers in Tripoli region

BEIRUT (Reuters) - The Libyan armed forces held large-scale maneuvers with live ammunition in the Tripoli area on Saturday, the official Libyan news agency Jana said yesterday.

Units from the army, air force and air defence corps took part in the exercises, the agency added. It gave no other details.

# Sports

## Olympics Games opened in carnival spirit

LOS ANGELES (AP) - The 1984 Summer Olympics opened on Saturday with the lighting of the Olympic flame before 7800 of the world's top athletes of 140 nations, an auditorium packed with 90,000 spectators and an estimated television audience of 2.5 billion people.

The ceremony at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum began with the pealing of church bells throughout Los Angeles, trumpet fanfares and a festival of American music in the stadium, followed by the athletes' own colourful march.

The 132-member delegation of Rumania, the East European nation that defied the Soviet boycott, received a standing ovation as it entered. The crowd also greeted with rousing applause the 240-member delegation from China, making its first full-fledged entry in a summer games. A carnival-like atmosphere prevailed.

Trees in the Exposition Park Area surrounding the Coliseum were festooned with brightly colored streamers and pennants in a rainbow of Olympic colours, and vendors sold refreshments and souvenirs under bright, sunny skies.

Long limousines delivered well-dressed Olympic enthusiasts, while police on horseback tried to control motorists who created a huge traffic jam stretching 2.2 kilometres from the Coliseum site, about 4.6 km. south of downtown Los Angeles.

But the crowds were amiable, and it took some motorists as long as two hours to inch their way to the Coliseum from nearby freeways.

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Olympic rings pattern on the field soared aloft, bearing streamers that said "welcome" in many languages.

Then music and dance ranged from the American pioneer spirit through jazz. "Rhapsody in Blue" by George Gershwin to celebrate urban life, music from the big-bands era and then to Broadway.

In American composer Aaron Copland's Fanfare for the Common Man, 120 trumpeters started, and the rousing strains passed to 750 handmen from 116 colleges down on the field.

Colour cards held up by members of the audience formed a sea of flags of competing nations.

From beginning to end, the cry of at the ceremonies was spirited and happy. Men, women and children clapped and sang. They waved flags. Some cried. The oath of the athletes to compete in a spirit of sportsmanship and for the glory of sport, was taken on behalf of all the competitors by Ed Moses, the wonder hurdler, who fluffed his lines as he has never fluffed a hurdle. It did not matter.

Former movie actor Ronald Reagan also blew his very few lines.

The U.S. President, charged with formally proclaiming the opening of the 23rd Olympiad, was supposed to say: "I declare open the Olympic games of Los Angeles celebrating the 23rd Olympiad of the modern era." The text, mandated by the Olympic Charter, was released in advance by the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee.

What the President actually said - speaking from a booth overlooking the Coliseum - was this: "Celebrating the 23rd Olympiad of the modern era, I declare open the Olympic Games of Los Angeles."

The dress of the athletes varied. There were flowing red robes and conical hats for Bhutan, red fezzes for Morocco, bright yellow sashes for Papua New Guinea. Most wore blazers.

Among the front ranks in New Zealand's delegation was handicapped Neroli Fairhall, a woman archer who competes from a wheelchair.

In accordance with tradition, the first to enter were athletes from Greece, where the games originated. The host Americans came last, wearing suits of the national color, red, white and blue and waving small American flags.

Others marched in alphabetical order, and, as they took their positions on the field, the athletes snapped pictures, played with flying discs and checked out the competition.

Handreds of Californians wearing the native dress of ethnic groups forming the American population held hands and danced as soloist Vicki McClure sang "reach out and touch somebody's hand." The athletes and audience also linked hands and sang.

The opening ceremonies were the biggest show the United States has ever seen and were made possible by commercial enterprises which will reap the Los Angeles Olympic committee millions of dollars in profit.

It included 128 trumpeters, 750 marching band members, 270 jittersburgers, 153 cheerleaders, 12 jumbo releases for 2,500 people, the largest video board in the world, 1,700 ethnic parades, a 1,000-member choir, 64 piano players and 1,065 balloons. Sculptors got 1000 a ticket.

Metals objects attached to the balloons released at the opening ceremonies knocked and electrical service to more than 200,000 customers when they struck power lines. Twenty blocks were affected for five seconds.

The head of the Los Angeles Games Organizing Committee, Peter Ueberroth said the athletes at the Games "represent the best hope for the future of mankind."

## American sets first olympic record

LOS ANGELES (AP) - American John Moffet set an Olympic record yesterday in a qualifying heat for the final in the men's 100m. breaststroke. Moffet's clocking of 1 minute, 2.16 seconds eclipsed the record of 1:02.87 by Australian Peter Evans in an earlier heat. Moffet is the world record holder in the event in 1:02.13.

The qualifiers for the men's final are Moffet, Evans, Brett Stocks (Australia), Gerald Moerkén (West Germany), Victor Davis (Canada), Rafael Avagnano (Italy), Steve Lundquist (US).

## SCOREBOARD

GOLF - Bernhard Langer won the Dutch Open with a score of 275, followed by Graham Marsh 279 and Lee Trevino 280.  
TENNIS - Anders Jarryd beat Tomas Sand 6-3, 6-3, 2-6, 6-2 to win the Dutch Open.  
BASEBALL - SATURDAY - American League - New York 3, Chicago 2; Boston 3, Detroit 2; Cleveland 6, Baltimore 3; Texas 5, Toronto 4; Milwaukee 3, Kansas City 2; Minnesota 6, California 1; Seattle 2, Oakland 1. National League - Chicago 11, New York 4; St. Louis 5, Pittsburgh 4; Los Angeles 1, Cincinnati 0; Atlanta 4, San Francisco 3; Montreal 4, Philadelphia 1; Houston 3, San Diego 1; San Diego 1, Houston 0.

Qualifiers for women's 100m. freestyle final: Nancy Hogshead (US), Annemarie Verstaapen (Netherlands), Carrie Steinseifer (US), Michele Pearson (Australia), Susanne Schuster (West Germany), Conny van Beunten (Netherlands), June Croft (GB), Angela Russell (Australia).

Shortly after, world record-holder Michael Gross of West Germany easily eclipsed the Olympic record in the men's 200-metre freestyle in qualifying for the final in the event.

Gross was timed in 1 minute, 48.03 seconds, bettering the 1980 Olympic mark of 1:49.81 by Sergei Koplakov of the Soviet Union. Gross' world record is 1:47.55.

## New Israeli record

Eyal Stigman, although finishing fourth in his heat of the 100m. breaststroke, nevertheless managed to break the Israeli record. His time was 1:05.63.

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Israel Lands Administration Northern District

Upper Nazareth Municipality

Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd.

Ministry of Construction and Housing Galilee District

### Owner/Occupier Construction in Upper Nazareth Stage B - Remaining Plots

The above bodies announce the opening of additional registration for the above programme, covering plots for one and two family dwellings. Registration will take place at the Arim office, 16/100 Reh. Atzmon, Upper Nazareth, Tel. 065-71312, during regular office hours. Registration will begin at 9 a.m. on Wednesday, August 1, and end on Wednesday, August 22, 1984 at 12 noon. Additional particulars and a detailed prospectus are available at the Arim office, Upper Nazareth, at the above address. At the time of registration, a 15,000 bank guarantee must be deposited, in favour of Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd., valid for a period of 90 days from the date it is issued.

Israel Lands Administration Tel Aviv District

### Offer for Lease of Plot for Construction of 8 Housing Units in Josephat Quarter, Bat Yam Tender No. 60/84/TA

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract for land, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, are as follows:

Block	Parcel	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building % on 3 floors	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
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7155	271	500	162	38,813,478	1,940,000
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The plot has been assessed in accordance with the Municipal Building Plan (at present date, No. 46/Bet) and the above details. Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 116 Derech Petah Tikva, Tel. 335433, during regular office hours.

Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon, August 27, 1984.

Bids not found in the tenders box by the above time, whatever the reason, will not be considered. The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid.

Israel Lands Administration Jerusalem District

### Offer of Lease on Plot for Multistorey Residential Construction, Baka, Jerusalem; Tender 59/84/JM

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a development contract concerning land, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, are as follows:

Block	Parcel	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building % on 3 floors	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
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30014	66	623	75	16,807,304	1,700,000
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The plot has been assessed in accordance with the present Master Plan (as of this date No. 62) and in accordance with the above data. Jerusalem district office, 34 Reh. Ben-Yehuda, Tel. 224121, during regular working hours.

Deadline for submitting bids is 12 noon, August 27, 1984.

Bids not found in the tenders box by the above time, whatever the reason, will not be considered. The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid.

Israel Lands Administration Northern District

Migdal Ha'emek Local Council

Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd.

Ministry of Construction and Housing Galilee District

### Owner/Occupier Construction in Migdal Ha'emek Stage B - Remaining Plots

The above bodies



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WEEKLY REVIEW

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## Unhappy Returns

## Standoff Dims Israeli Hopes for Change

By JAMES FERON

IT'S still like Eastern Europe, with every rabbi surrounded by his own group," said a former Labor government official who was disgusted with the confusion created by Israel's latest election, the multiplicity of political parties and Labor's own weaknesses. "If you don't like my synagogue," he said, quoting the imaginary rabbi, "go start your own."

But many factors were responsible for the virtual standoff that followed the vote for the 120-seat Knesset. One was the generous system of proportional representation that eliminates only those parties failing to gain one percent of the total vote. Seventeen of the 26 contesting

parties were thus able to win seats in Parliament. Then there was the continuing decline in popularity of a Labor alignment that once dominated Israeli politics. Another, probably related, factor was the steady shift to the political right by a younger, more Middle Eastern population that is replacing the older European Jews who were largely responsible for the new state.

And here the former Labor official had his own evidence. "I just spent a month in Lebanon, on reserve duty, where my son is also serving," he said. His son's friends had all voted for Likud and other right-wing parties. "I asked him why and he said 'those parties have a simple ideology — that we own the entire country and if the Arabs don't like it, too bad.'"

The Labor alignment, headed by Shimon Peres, got 44 seats; 41 went to the right-wing Likud bloc that had

formed the last two Governments, first under Menachem Begin and then under Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Thirteen other parties, many of them religious or nationalist groups, won the remaining 35 seats, making it necessary, but perhaps impossible, for either major bloc to form a coalition of at least 61 seats.

Coalition talks began even as the results were being televised to a captivated nation and they continued through the week. Each major party seeks partners who could live with each other ideologically while representing enough Knesset seats to form a government or at least to block the other side from doing so.

One way out would be to draw the major parties together in a government like the one formed after the 1967 war. Some political observers here see the nation facing similarly difficult conditions now, particularly with the economy reeling under a 400 percent annual rate of inflation. The questions for such a government are, who would lead it and what kind of coherent policies could it have?

For Mr. Peres, who has tried three times to lead Labor to victory, it may be his last chance. A former Likud official who voted for Labor this time "not because I like them but because Likud doesn't deserve another chance," said, "Labor needs to rehabilitate itself, and a unity government could be it."

Mr. Shamir, on the other hand, is perceived as representing a growing constituency: Israelis who take a hard line toward the Arabs, who are perhaps more religiously oriented than in the past and who do not associate their own economic good fortune — consumer goods have become more available than ever before under Likud — with national problems represented by a growing trade gap, weak currency, inflation and the constant threat of devaluation.

In policy matters, both parties agree on a withdrawal of troops from Lebanon with a concurrent strengthening of the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army. Political observers believe a common economic policy can be forged. As for Jewish settlements in the territories, the parties could probably agree to confine development to areas that neither party would give up in a peace settlement.

A clear majority for either side would have hardened or changed some policies. On the economic side, a strong government, either Labor or Likud, would have been better able to reduce imports, improve productivity and cut the budget, in part through diminished services — all unpopular moves because they would combine to drive down the standard of living.

The Likud would have used a clear majority as a mandate to continue its policies in the occupied territories — heavy settlement and clear resistance to negotiations on the Palestinian problem. Labor, by contrast, would have been more disposed to eliminate points of friction with Egypt, less aggressive on settlements and more amenable to talks with Jordan. The United States favors such policies.

Washington was thus disappointed by Labor's failure to gain a majority. But under Likud, Israel has been negotiating with Washington over a strategic cooperation agreement, mostly dealing with military matters, and Likud, more than Labor, has indicated its willingness to give it the anti-Soviet character that the United States

## A splintered Parliament

Outcome of Israeli Knesset elections last week\*

Party	Seats in Knesset	Percent of vote**
Labor Alignment	44	34.3
Likud	41	31.9
Tehiya	5	4.0
National Religious Party	4	3.5
Democratic Front for Peace and Equality	4	3.4
Sephardi Torah Guardians Association	4	3.1
Shinui	3	2.6
Movement for Citizens Rights and Peace	3	2.4
Yahad	3	2.2
Progressive List for Peace	2	1.8
Agudat Israel	2	1.7
Morasha	2	1.6
Tami	1	1.5
Courage to Cure the Economy	1	1.2
Kach	1	1.2

\*final, unofficial results

\*\*total does not add to 100 percent, with remainder going to 9 parties that failed to make the one percent cutoff for representation in the Knesset

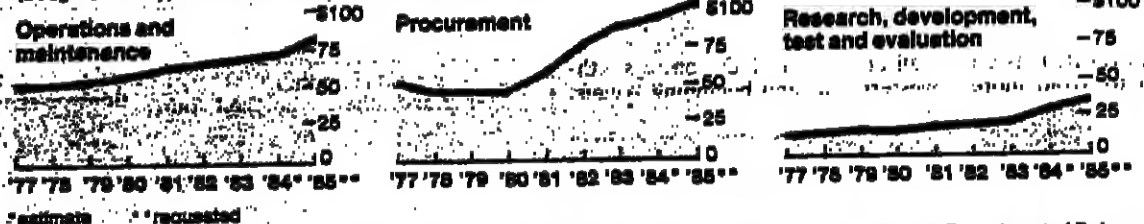
United Press International (Shamir); Sygma / Moshe Miller (Peres)

## Report on Readiness Provokes Weinberger



## Defense Department priorities

(Budget authority, in billions of constant 1985 dollars)



Note: Excludes nuclear warhead programs of the Department of Energy

Source: Department of Defense

Woodfin Camp/Wally McNamee

## Politics Tilts The Debate on Defense Funds

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

SENATE and House negotiators struggled last week to strike a compromise on one of the major issues still facing Congress, an authorization bill outlining the Pentagon's budget for the next fiscal year. By week's end, the talks seemed to be bogging down, and one of the negotiators, Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, muttered, "I'm discouraged. The deal now is not looking very good."

One reason for the stalemate, he added, was the paralyzing effect of election-year politics. "Party positions are getting harder," he said, "and I don't know if we want an agreement at any cost."

Republicans admitted that if the negotiations failed, they might be better off. Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, who heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee, put it this way: "Absent an agreement, we'd have a campaign issue we can take to the public."

Congress is only scheduled to meet for another six weeks before quitting in October, and military and foreign policy will highlight the agenda. But all of these issues are increasingly colored by political calculation, and, as Representative Aspin and Senator Lugar conceded, many members of Congress might well decide that a clear campaign issue is preferable to a muddy legislative compromise.

Before the House and Senate recessed at the end of June, President Reagan and his Republican allies demanded that defense spending must reach \$200 billion, the figure approved by the Senate. The House authorization bill stood at \$202 billion, but the House-passed budget was down at \$205.6 billion, and the gap between the two chambers seemed unbridgeable.

When Congress returned to work last week, however, Senator John Tower, the Texas Republican who heads the Armed Services Committee, put a new offer on the table: \$207 billion, plus a willingness to accept some restrictions on the deployment of new weapons, particularly the MX missile, favored by the House.

But the political calculations were complicated on both sides. The Republicans wanted a higher defense budget in order to fulfill Mr. Reagan's campaign promise to strengthen military might, and to bolster his charge that Democrats did not appreciate the rising Soviet threat. But they were afraid to ap-

pear stiff-necked on the issue of arms control, which promises to be a significant factor in the campaign. "There's a lot of fear out there over the deterioration in United States-Soviet relations," said Representative Norman D. Dicks, Democrat of Washington. "I think the President's vulnerable on that issue."

The Democrats, Mr. Dicks conceded, were just as vulnerable to charges that they didn't believe in a strong defense. But they also sensed political mileage in the charge that the Pentagon's appetite was contributing to vast budget deficits and rising interest rates. That point was emphasized by Representative James R. Jones, the Oklahoma Democrat who heads the Budget Committee. "This nation is sitting on a deficit time bomb," he said, "and it is frightening to have a President who will not face our toughest issue directly."

Partisan tensions were exacerbated when the House defense appropriations subcommittee headed by Representative Joseph Addabbo, a Queens Democrat, issued a report on military readiness which concluded that, "The United States Army cannot be sustained in combat for any extended period of time." Caspar W. Weinberger, the Secretary of Defense, accused the Democrats of releasing the document for political gain and warned that they might be harming national security by giving a "false impression" to enemies. If the Pentagon has a problem, Mr. Weinberger added, the blame rests with Congressional Democrats and former President Jimmy Carter, who would not give the military enough money.

Mr. Addabbo retorted that the report "enhances our national security because it forces the Administration to make the proper moves to correct the deficiencies." Even some Republicans were not thoroughly enchanted with Mr. Weinberger's attitude. "The trouble with Cap is that he equates defense figures with patriotism," said a senior Republican aide on Capitol Hill. "He's a captive of the Pentagon."

Partisan rhetoric and reactions also dominated developments on the issue of Central America. President Reagan told Republican leaders on Tuesday that he wanted them to press for additional aid to El Salvador, and he used his press conference that night to accuse Democrats of taking a "niggardly" attitude toward that country. In a clear echo of a campaign theme, he blamed his rivals for letting El Salvador "slowly bleed to death" from lack of American help. The day before, Vice President Bush had told a political audience that the Democrats did not understand Communism.

But Mr. Reagan's vulnerability on the issue was also clear at his press conference. In answer to a question about Walter F. Mondale's promise to end the American-backed war against the Nicaraguan Government, the President replied lamely, "Well, I'm not trigger happy."

The answer showed that Mr. Reagan can still be thrown off stride by foreign policy issues, and is still sensitive to charges of warmongering. Indeed, the President cut some of his political losses during the week when he decided to drop requests for extra money this year for the Nicaraguan rebels. The issue was playing badly both on Capitol Hill and out in the country, and as a relieved Howard H. Baker Jr., the Senate majority leader, said of the President's decision, "I think that's being realistic." (Political ferment in Nicaragua, page 2.)

## The world's surging population

3

## Religion Finds a Way to Go to School

AFTER the Democrats served notice that they intended to carry the banner of traditional values in the Presidential campaign, the Republicans wasted no time in responding to the challenge. The first showdown in the battle over which party can claim to represent the side of church, family and patriotism came last week when the House of Representatives voted on two bills that sought to give religion a more prominent place in the schools.

The importance attached to the school-prayer issue in 1984 reflects the remarkable success of conservatives — and the Reagan Administration — in bringing the cause back into the political and legal mainstream. The Supreme Court prohibited organized school prayer in its decisions of the early 1960's and challenges in the courts and Congress were largely unsuccessful. Recently, however, the Supreme Court, with a docket full of cases on religion, has seemed willing to lower the barrier between church and state on issues ranging from tuition tax credits to municipal Nativity scenes.

Last week, the House passed, 337 to 77, an "equal access" bill that gives students the right to hold religious meetings in public high schools before and after regular school hours. Many Democrats agreed to support it after threats to cut off Federal aid to schools that did not comply were dropped, and it was stipulated that teachers could not get



Representative Barney Frank

involved with such groups.

Some Congressmen and civil liberties groups contended that the measure, which was part of an education package, is really free-speech legislation. As written, it prevents school districts from prohibiting political as well as religious gatherings. This may open up classrooms for meetings of cults and groups ranging from homosexuals to Marxists, some legislators and others said. Many of the conservatives who voted to strike a blow for school prayer "will climb the walls" at some of

the bill's effects, said Barry W. Lynn, a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union. "In some ways, this is the best empowerment of teen-agers that's come along," Representative Barney Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat, said. Critics of the measure said it could lead to the coercion of peer-conscious teen-agers and amounted to Federal interference in local schools.

Democrats hoped that the approval of the bill, already passed by the Senate and sure to be signed by Mr. Reagan, would relieve some political pressure. But the next day, the sharpest confrontation over school prayer this year took place in the House when conservative Republicans pressed a proposal to withhold Federal aid from schools that forbid voluntary prayer. The House rejected the measure by a vote of 215 to 194. Republicans acknowledged that the move was aimed at forcing Democrats to cast a vote that might be unpopular back home.

"We're trying to show that what the Democrats said in San Francisco and how they vote are two different things," said Representative Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi. But the House then adopted an amendment, with wide Democratic support, endorsing silent prayer. This way, said Representative Tony Coelho of California, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, "we can still say we voted for prayer in the schools."



# The World

## Poland Woos the West and Hopes For Benefits

A week ago Poland began to appear, if not all sweetness and light, considerably more conciliatory than it has been since it cracked down on Solidarity and imposed martial law in December 1982. The Government declared an amnesty for political and other prisoners, and President Reagan, who has been insisting on such moves, suggested last week possible rewards like the dropping or easing of sanctions.

Shortly after Mr. Reagan told a news conference that "we don't want to impose hardships on the (Polish) people," the Polish authorities continued their new policy by agreeing to demands by the Roman Catholic Church that it alone, with church-appointed officials, administer a fund to help equip 3.5 million private farmers, who account for 75 per cent of the country's cropland. The funds — \$28 million thus far — come from donations mostly in the United States and West Germany. Negotiations had dragged on for two years while the Government insisted on having a say in how the money would be used.

One foreign benefit that is ex-

pected fairly quickly is a complete lifting of a ban on Polish airline flights to the United States. More important would be the restoration of Polish trade privileges, including most-favored nation treatment on tariffs and access to Washington-backed credits for foodstuffs. The Government showed its impatience with the lack of quick action by accusing Washington of treating Poland "as a tool" and complaining that the sanctions had stolen "\$350 out of every Pole's pocket."



Solidarity activist Andrzej Gwiazda leaving a Warsaw prison last week under amnesty program.

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## Duarte Gains On Foreign Front

President José Napoleón Duarte may be no closer to peace in El Salvador than he was June 1 when he took office, but last week he continued to gain support abroad. After winning a West German pledge to resume \$18 million in aid and a welcome from the hitherto standoffish French Socialist President, François Mitterrand, Mr. Duarte got reasons for encouragement on his second visit to Washington.

Mr. Duarte, the first democratically elected civilian president in more than 50 years, was campaigning for economic and military aid. He received some support from Democrats who have been critical of the Reagan Administration's policies in Central America. The House majority leader, Jim Wright, said El Salvador deserved assistance and Clarence D. Long of Maryland, who heads the House Appropriations Committee, said he would support more economic assistance this year but not more military aid.

The Salvadoran President may have a tougher time getting a positive response from businessmen to whom he appealed for investment in an address in New York. Salvadoran investors have not been enthusiastic either about putting money into the war-ravaged economy. Last week, the four so-called Contadora nations — Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela — offered to help Mr. Duarte start negotiations with the leftist guerrillas. Mr. Duarte has stated a willingness to start talks but only after he has established "a base of security and an atmosphere of democracy" in the country.

## A Signal From Castro

President Fidel Castro's tone has become noticeably softer, more conciliatory toward the United States in recent weeks. On the 31st anniversary of his revolution and in the

## Money Smooths German Ties

Whatever the state of East-West tensions, the two Germanys seem determined to get along with each other for practical and sentimental reasons. Last week, the West German Government approved \$333 million in private bank credits to cash-hungry East Germany in exchange for easing travel between the two ideologically split states.

A year ago, West German banks advanced \$386.8 million to East Germany. Some 27,000 East Germans have been allowed to go West in 1984, according to West German Minister of State Philipp Jenninger, who predicted that several thousand more would be allowed to cross over before the year was up. Bonn also expects easier rules governing visits by West Germans to friends and relatives in East Germany.

The relative good feeling between the Germanys is due to reach a high point in September when Bonn expects Erich Honecker, the East German party head, to make good on a scheduled visit to West Germany, the first by an East German leader. Mr. Honecker will presumably promote more détente as a way of lessening East Germany's economic dependence on the Soviet Union. Moscow appears willing to allow Mr. Honecker to pursue links with the West for the benefits it might bring the Warsaw Pact and the influence it might bring to bear on Bonn's foreign policies.

## More Sparring Over Namibia

The path to independence for South-West Africa or Namibia, the continent's last colony, continues to be a tortuous one. Last week for the first time, the two main adversaries — South Africa, which administers the territory against the will of the United Nations, and the South-West Africa's People's Organization — met alone in official talks in the Cape Verde Islands. But they parted company after only a few hours.

The talks were designed to obtain a cease-fire in Swapo's vain 18-year effort to drive the South Africans out. Similar talks, but involving other parties, collapsed in Lusaka, Zambia, in May. The guerrillas appear interested in a truce because their ability to mount attacks has been hampered by Angola's agreement in February to crack down on Swapo bases in exchange for a withdrawal of South African forces from Angolan territory. The South African withdrawal has been delayed, however, because of continued guerrilla activity. Last week's failure made it evident that there is, as yet, no overall political understanding among the various parties. South Africa wants Swapo to abandon its claim to be the sole representative of the Namibian people, a claim the United Nations supports, and participate in politics on the same basis as several groups backed by Pretoria. South Africa's linkage of Namibian independence with the departure of Cuba's 25,000 to 30,000 troops from Angola was also rejected by Swapo.

The result was a deadlock between Pretoria's administrator in South-West Africa, Willie van Niekirk and Swapo's leader, Sam Nujoma. The United Nations plan for independence calls for U.N. supervision of a cease-fire followed by quick elections. South Africa fears Swapo would win them and transform Namibia into a hostile state.

Henry Gilder, Milt Freudenheim and Richard Levine

## Main Opposition Candidate in Presidential Election Pulled Out Last Week

## Sandinistas Seek to Win Credibly

By STEPHEN KINZER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Opposition leaders, who thought they had a standard-bearer for the November presidential election, were euphoric last week at the long-awaited return of their most prominent champion, Arturo José Cruz. The American-educated Mr. Cruz, an economist who quit his job at the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington to campaign against the ruling Sandinista Front, was mobbed by several hundred cheering supporters at Augusto Cesar Sandino airport. Police stood by unobtrusively as the crowd chanted "Democracy yes, Communism no!"

In the following days, Mr. Cruz launched a series of strong attacks against the Government and said he would run for president as the candidate of a united opposition. But he then refused to register before the deadline. Only if the Sandinistas agree to begin peace talks with insurgent rebels, he declared, will he become an official candidate. Ending the civil war, in which more than 10,000 Nicaraguans have died in three years, is his principal goal, he said, adding that he was more interested in promoting peace talks among warring factions than he was in winning the presidency.

According to aides, Mr. Cruz hopes that by traveling around Nicaragua spreading his message, and by appealing to democratic governments in Europe and Latin America, he can bring enough pressure to bear on the Sandinistas to force them to open the elections to the possibility of a victory by anti-Sandinista candidates and to talk with rebel leaders. He has vowed to continue his activism past November. "We are not interested in who wins the election as much as in what happens afterwards," he said.

The junta coordinator, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, who is also the Sandinistas' presidential candidate, rejected Mr. Cruz's demand for talks with the rebels as "totally unacceptable." The Sandinistas are making it clear that the election is for the purpose of "confirming revolutionary power," not to allow someone like Mr. Cruz, who was described in the pro-Government newspaper *El Nuevo Diario* as "a politician at the service of the Reagan Administration," to come to power. Mr. Ortega, who appeared to be counting on Mr. Cruz's candidacy to make the contest more credible, charged that the pullout was the result of an



Arturo José Cruz in Managua last week.

effort by Washington to "sabotage" the election. As things stand, Mr. Ortega's only rivals will be people who generally support the Sandinista program.

At a news conference broadcast live by a Managua radio station, even Mr. Cruz appeared less categorical in his denunciation of the regime than some of his backers would have liked. He praised advances made by the Sandinistas in education and health care, and said their nationalization of the banking system was essential for national development. Some of the business and political leaders sitting at the back of the room looked a bit uncomfortable, particularly when Mr. Cruz said he would invite Sandinistas to participate in his government if he was elected. He went on to condemn rebel attacks on civilian targets, described himself a Sandinista at heart and declared, "The revolution is irreversible."

## Rules Seen as Unfair

The Government evidently felt that Mr. Cruz's statements were grist for its mill. To insure wider publicity, it substantially loosened censorship of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa* and announced it would again allow anti-Sandinista radio news programs, which were silenced two years ago. *La Prensa* took immediate advantage of its new freedom to promote Mr. Cruz.

Mr. Cruz and his backers are charging, however, that the rules governing the campaign do

not give the opposition a fair chance to compete. They say pro-Government "mass organizations" have organized Sandinistas throughout the country for five years during which the opposition was forbidden to engage in electoral politics. They also complain that the Government monopoly on television makes it difficult for them to transmit their message to the people.

Still, the opposition is enjoying more of a platform than some other Latin American governments permit. The outburst of political activity came only a few days after President Reagan characterized Nicaragua as "a totalitarian dungeon." Several of Mr. Cruz's most fervent supporters declined to endorse such a charge.

Ramiro Gurdian, an outspoken anti-Sandinista business leader, said in an interview that he thought Mr. Reagan had exaggerated the level of repression here. "I would describe the situation as not very agreeable," he said. "But Nicaragua is not Cuba and it never will be." A senior anti-Sandinista labor organizer, Alvin Guthrie, said he thought the President's statements were "too harsh to be really true."

Mr. Cruz was an active opponent of the Somoza dictatorship, which was overthrown five years ago. He served as president of Nicaragua's national bank following the 1979 Sandinista takeover, and then was named to the ruling junta, where he specialized in economic planning. Later he spent a year as Ambassador to Washington.

## After the Divorce, France's Socialists Continue Their Austerity Policies



Members of the General Confederation of Labor and other unions demonstrating in Paris against economic policies in March.

## The Same Communists, Only Weaker

By JOHN VINOCUR

PARIS — In a nearly forgotten municipal election in Tours in the mid-70's, the French Communist Party ran a strange campaign. It offered potential voters neither red flags nor specific identification as Communists, but a symbolic green dot that, long before West Germany's eco-pacifists grabbed the idea, was supposed to signify youth and generosity. The test-market campaign flopped, and the French Communists went back to doing business the old way.

This summarizes, in the view of some party members, the essential problem of French Communism. In government or out, toying with green dots or other gadgets, the party has not fundamentally changed its attitudes since World War II. All employers are exploiters, the state can save the economy by buying up the means of production, and the Soviet Union remains a shining, unassailable success.

Those who call themselves "reformists" say the party has grown old. Those who look at it from the outside add that it remains rigid, with the party's public image devastatingly confused. This comes not only through association with a Socialist Government pledged to rescue French industry by amputating jobs, but as a result of a half-dozen cases of electoral fraud over the past three years, and a foreign policy that turns Solidarity trade union members into C.I.A. agents, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan into neighborly assistance.

A few weeks before the Socialists and Communists separated, Marcel Rigout, then Minister of Vocational Training and one of the party's reformist leaders, made an extraordinary admission. The party's vote in the European parliamentary elections had just fallen to 11 per cent, the worst performance in 60 years, and its share

of young people's ballots, he said, was down to 6 per cent. Mr. Rigout avoided the standard party line that this was all the fault of the Government's austerity policy, and asserted instead that too many Frenchmen were now making the equation: "The Communist Party equals the U.S.S.R. equals the gulag."

There was more. Mr. Rigout told reporters that a real debate must develop at party congresses, including motions that oppose those of the party leadership. The party, he went on, had to undergo a cultural revolution of a kind that would mean distancing itself from the Communist governments of Eastern Europe. The resulting embarrassment in the party, where, under Secretary General Georges Marchais, the Central Committee always votes unanimously, was enormous.

## Old-Liners Reinforced

This provided the background, in part, for the party's decision to leave the Government, and the interpretation that the Communists' departure — regardless of whether they jumped or were pushed — reinforced the old-line fossil faction. In terms of the so-called struggle in the party about its direction, staying in power would have likely helped reformists like Mr. Rigout. According to this argument, the reformists are thought to feel that participating in government has a kind of momentum that can ease the party away from its leader reflexes.

But the reformists did not win. One of the explanations for this, beyond habit and caution, is that the General Confederation of Labor, the Communist-led trade union, is believed to have argued that its hands were increasingly tied by the party's association with the Socialists in the Government.

Regardless, the extent of the confederation's involvement in French industry, and with it, the

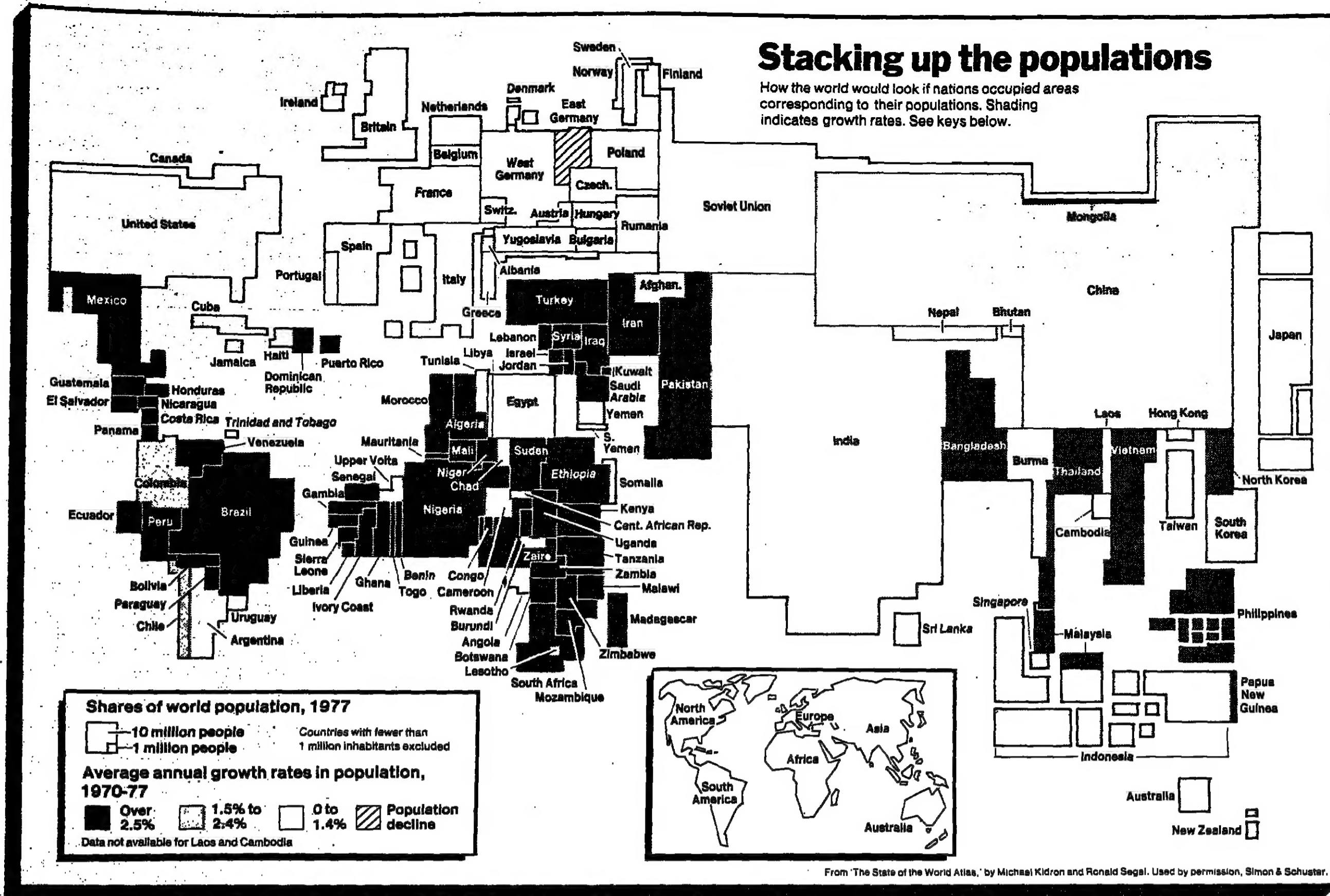
Communist ability to create labor peace or disruption, seems to have declined along with the party's electoral fortunes over the past years. The union's membership, thought to be about five or six million at the end of World War II, is now reckoned at about one million, including 300,000 retired workers. Elections for union and social security officials in industry last fall showed an 8.5 per cent decrease in the confederation's score from previous voting.

A particular problem of the union is that the Government's industrial restructuring program cuts into the industrial sectors where it is strongest. An even greater problem is that much of the old class-struggle and worker-solidarity rhetoric seems to have increasingly less appeal to the specialists the Mitterrand Government says will have jobs when France is finally awash in the rosy glow of high technology. Despite these obstacles, the old-liners are still expected to try to shore up their positions by looking pugnacious. Following this line, the party issued what it called a "warning signal" by abstaining from voting approval last week in the National Assembly of Prime Minister Laurent Fabius's updated economic austerity plan. The Communists had promised "support without participation," but for Annie Kriegel, a historian and former ranking member of the party, Communist "support" for the Socialists now means "holding the rope that supports the banged man."

From the point of view of the Soviet Union, the break was the best news from France in a long time. The Russians, who made clear during the 1981 presidential campaign that they preferred President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to the Atlanticism of François Mitterrand, now had their French Communist friends back where they were most comfortable with them: away from the ties of responsibility, and contemplating a role as an active irritant.



# The Malthusian Time Bomb Is Still Ticking



BY RICHARD BERNSTEIN

**T**EN years ago, when 138 countries met in Bucharest, Rumania, to talk about controlling population, China bitterly inveighed against family planning, charging that it was a tool of the capitalist West to subjugate the third world. As the world's nations meet in Mexico City to continue their discussion the week after next, China has embarked on an ambitious effort to reduce population growth. Indeed, what should quickly be apparent at the gathering is the extent to which third world suspicion of population planning has been replaced by a near consensus on its necessity that brings together East and West, North and South. "Ten years ago, you couldn't find people knowledgeable about population," said Rafael M. Salas, Secretary General of the Mexico City conference. Now, he went on, virtually every government in the third world has developed its own corps of experts and programs.

The conference, its planners say, is expected to push into such relatively new areas of concern as urbanization, aging and migration. At the same time, participants will surely take note of some dramatic trends. A recent study by the World Bank, for example, predicted that even given declining rates of increase achieved over the last decade the world's population will double to about 10 billion by the year 2050 unless the Malthusian bomb is defused. The bank, echoed by private population planners and such United Nations agencies as the Fund for Population Activities, says that more money—\$7 billion a year rather than the current \$2 billion—needs to be spent on the problem.

For its part, the Reagan Administration is expected to arrive in Mexico City with different views on population planning than those of its predecessors. A position paper prepared for the conference has already provoked controversy on two fronts, one moral, the other philosophical. The first concerns abortion, which President Reagan opposes. Since 1974, American law has prohibited direct use of any foreign aid for abortion. According to the Administration's stricter policy, money to governments that condone the practice will go only into "segregated accounts" that cannot be used for abortion, while funds for nongovernmental organizations working in family planning abroad will be cut off if any of their activities involve support for abortion. The International Planned Parenthood Federation stands to lose some \$11 million. The loss would cripple its activities, the vast majority of which do not relate to abortion. "It would have the paradoxical effect of resulting in more abortions," said Dr. J. Joseph Speidel of the Population Crisis Committee in Washington, "because it's well-demonstrated that a strong family planning program results in a cutdown in abortions."

The philosophy underlying the policy reflects the White House's faith in the free market. The Administration disagrees that the reason for overpopulation and poverty is a failure to pay more attention to family planning, as the World Bank, among others, maintains. Rather, it blames intrusive governmental policies, such as price controls that retard economic development. "Localized crises of population growth are, in part, evidence of too much government control and planning, rather than too little," the statement says. It goes on to endorse family planning as having a sometimes necessary role in eliminating third world poverty but puts priority on free enterprise.

In support of the Administration is considerable evidence that free market development in such places as South Korea and Singapore has led to natural declines in fertility, while family planning in India, with its largely socialist economy, has been less impressive. Nonetheless, the Americans may not find much support. Ten years ago in Bucharest, the third world rallying cry was "development is the best contraceptive," which sounds very much like the new White House line. Since then, however, many experts have come to believe that economic growth without family planning is not as effective at reducing population as it is with it. That is likely to be the prevailing view in Mexico City.

## World's Surging Birthrate Tops the Mexico City Agenda

Below, a sampling of views on population and its consequences from experts and leaders around the world.

### Robert S. McNamara

Former President of the World Bank, in Foreign Affairs (Summer 1984)

After centuries of steady acceleration, overall growth rates during the last decade and a half have turned downward. This decline in the rate of population growth has led many observers to believe that the world in general, and most individual countries as well, no longer face serious population problems and, therefore, that efforts to deal with such problems can be relaxed. But this assessment is simply wrong. The fertility change which has occurred during the last decade or two has been very uneven. In particular, the statistical decline for the developing countries as a whole, and indeed for the world, is heavily skewed by the special experience of China. In many other parts of the developing world, including much of Africa, a large part of South Asia, and some countries of Latin America, no measurable or significant drop in fertility has occurred.

India will more than double in the next 45 years, becoming almost 40 percent larger than China is today. Bangladesh in the same time will have nearly tripled and will have 250 million people jammed into an area, alternately swept by flood and drought, the size of the state of Wisconsin. Mexico, which today has the most rapidly growing labor force of any large country in the world, will more than double in size. And Kenya, in which 17 million people are already putting heavy pressure on the limited supply of arable land, will have quintupled. The total population of developing countries as a group, 3.3 billion in 1980, will rise to over seven billion by 2025, and to over 8.5 billion by 2050. So much, then, for the supposed end of the population explosion.

### Nick Eberstadt

Visiting fellow, Center for Population Studies, Harvard University

If the World Population Conference in Mexico City is to improve material prospects for present and future generations it must turn away from the dogmatic thinking of the current "population debate" and focus instead on a more practical and more uncomfortable question: the impact of bad government policy on living standards in different regions of the poor world. The "neo-Malthusian" doctrine promoted by many development assistance groups has ill-served the world's poor. With its emphasis on the dangers of "uncontrolled" population growth, it

has encouraged the notion that poor people are irrational — incapable of sensible decisions about their families' well being. In its preoccupation with birth rates and growth rates rather than human lives it has lent legitimacy to a terrible, and enormously injurious, population control campaign in India, China and elsewhere. And in identifying almost any sign of poverty as proof of "overpopulation," it has given leaders the excuse of blaming their people for problems created by bad government policy. Mexico City's delegations should endorse family planning without reservation. It will be more difficult to examine the connection between bad policy and persisting poverty. The critical constraint on development today is not an excessive flow of babies, or an insufficient flow of aid, but the inability or unwillingness of governments and international agencies to formulate policies conducive to economic progress.

### Mahathir bin Mohamad

Prime Minister of Malaysia, in a 1982 interview

We must have a sufficiently large domestic base if we are going to industrialize. Unlike the agriculturally-based economy where the smaller the population the better it is, an industrially strong nation is very difficult to build without a sufficiently large domestic market. A big population is not harmful if the people are productive. The key

word here is really "productivity." Seventy million people [a five-fold increase] working very hard and producing a lot of goods could easily live in Malaysia.

### Lee Kuan Yew

Prime Minister of Singapore, in a 1983 speech

The 1980 Census disclosed that whilst we have brought down the birth rate, we have reduced it most unequally. The better educated the woman is, the less children she has. A woman below age 40 with no educational qualifications, on average, produces about three children although she has limited income and few resources to give her children the extra attention, help and stimulation required. With primary education, she produces about two on the average; with secondary education, 1½; with upper secondary education, 1¼; with tertiary education, 1¼.

### Indira Gandhi

Prime Minister of India, accepting the United Nations Population Award in 1983

Long years before our independence we realized that poverty could not be effectively combated unless the size of the family was limited to enable each child to have a better share of resources and opportunities. India was the first to adopt family planning as its official

policy. While special funds and staff are earmarked for this program, we also recognize that the task has to be dovetailed into our general programs of health and education. The Government can only act with the consent and the cooperation of the people. Our family planning program is entirely voluntary...

### Daniel arap Moi

President of Kenya, in an address in June 1983

Kenya's high population growth has led to unsustainable pressure on arable land, giving rise, in many cases, to erosion and loss of soil fertility while encouraging unplanned settlement in marginal areas and mounting rural-to-urban migration, especially by members of the younger generation.

### Julian L. Simon

Professor of Business and Social Science, University of Maryland, in Science Digest (April 1983)

Cross-national comparisons of recent rates of population growth and economic growth show a lack of negative impact of population growth on living standards in the long run. More generally, in less developed countries per capita income has been growing as fast as or faster than in the developed countries, according to a World Bank survey for the years 1950 to 1975, despite the fact that population has grown faster in developing countries than in developed countries.

### Zhao Ziyang

Prime Minister of China, in a 1982 report to the National People's Congress

We must take effective measures and encourage late marriage, advocate one child for each couple, strictly control second births and resolutely prevent additional births so as to control population growth. Otherwise, the execution of our national economic plan and the improvement of the people's living standards will be adversely affected. Persuasive education must be conducted among the people of the whole country, especially among the peasants, to change radically the feudal attitude of viewing sons as better than daughters and regarding more sons as a sign of good fortune. We must, in particular, protect infant girls and their mothers. The whole society should resolutely condemn the criminal activities of female infanticide and maltreatment of the mothers, and the judicial departments should resolutely punish the offenders according to law.

### Clare Boothe Luce

Member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, in a 1982 interview

There's no record in history of a nation continuing to grow in power and prestige with a declining birth rate. People walk in and take you over.

## Looking ahead

Population projections for world's most populous nations (in millions)

	1980	2000	2025	2050	2100	Total fertility rate* (1984)
China	980.3	1,196	1,409	1,450	1,462	2.173
India	687.3	995	1,311	1,518	1,639	4.637
Soviet Union	265.5	306	339	358	376	2.335
United States	226.5	259	286	288	289	1.846
Indonesia	146.3	212	284	332	358	4.214
Brazil	121.3	161	243	279	299	3.816
Japan	116.8	128	132	129	128	1.710
Bangladesh	88.5	157	266	357	434	6.300
Nigeria	84.7	169	329	471	593	6.902
Pakistan	82.1	140	229	302	381	5.840
Total world	4,435	6,145	8,297	9,778	10,869	3.526

\*number of children an average woman would have during her lifetime.

Source: World Bank



# The Nation

## Immigration Bill Looks Less Likely

As Congress settled in for a brief between-conventions session last week, there were mounting indications that the much-fought-over immigration bill might not make it to President Reagan's desk after all.

The House and Senate, in their separate votes, have approved legislation dissimilar in many respects. Because the vote in the House was a squeaker, supporters are reluctant to give the House an opportunity to reject a compromise that might be drafted by a conference committee. One big reason for their caution is that the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President have said they would do their best to rally Democratic Representatives against the bill.

Technically, the House could be sidestepped; the Senate could simply scrap its bill and accept the House's. But last week an Administration spokesman said the House version was "unacceptable," prompting California Senator Alan Cranston, the Democratic whip, to say immigration legislation was beginning to look "dead for this session of Congress."

Election-year considerations reared up elsewhere on Capitol Hill. The Senate voted, 86 to 3, to insure that contrary to existing guidelines Social Security recipients get a cost-of-living increase on Jan. 1 even if inflation hasn't risen above the 3 percent mark. In several political speeches last week, President Reagan promised to support such action.

Earlier in the week, in one of its infrequent displays of interest in environmental legislation, the Senate unanimously approved a bill that would beef up Federal hazardous-waste disposal regulations. By a 74 to 19 vote, the Senate also approved a resolution that urged President Reagan to withdraw his nomination of Anne McGill Burford as chairman of the National Advisory Board on Oceans and the Atmosphere. Mrs. Burford was forced to resign as head of the Environmental Protection Agency early in 1983.

### Sweating the Deficit

The Government reported last week that consumer prices rose only two-tenths of 1 percent in June, just as they did in May, for a compound annual rate of a mere 2 percent.

Some economists warned that the low inflation rate, unusual in combination with the high growth rate reported earlier in the week, might have been a signal that the economy has been knocked off kilter by big Federal deficits.

But Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul A. Volcker's testimony before the Senate Banking Committee last week was markedly moderate on that subject.

In the past he has often spoken sternly, and to the displeasure of the Reagan Administration, of the dangers of the deficit. Of perhaps more interest to Wall Street was Mr. Volcker's report that at its summer policy meeting two weeks ago, the Fed decided not to tighten up.

## Give and Take In Auto Talks

Two and a half years ago, with the American auto industry's profits plunging, the United Auto Workers grudgingly made unprecedented wage concessions. But last week, as contract negotiations got under way with Detroit's profits at record highs, it was labor's turn to argue the connection between the bottom line and the assembly line.

The mood was friendly and businesslike as the U.A.W. met with the

General Motors Corporation and the Ford Motor Company, but Owen F. Bieber, president of the union, has said that talks promise to be "much tougher" than at any time in the past. At G.M., the union is demanding "substantial" wage increases, double pay for some overtime, day care centers and veto power over the company's purchase of foreign or nonunion cars and parts. Mr. Bieber has called job security "the key to a satisfactory settlement." The current contract, which covers 500,000 workers, expires Sept. 15. Chrysler's agreement has another year to go.

The auto makers say their profits should pay for modernization — G.M., for example, is doubling its spending on plants and machinery from last year — and warn that the union's demands further widen the gap between American and Japanese labor costs. But Donald F. Ephlin, head of the union's G.M. department, said the workers helped produce the record profit and "they are entitled to a piece of it."

The Reagan Administration is putting pressure on both sides. Officials criticized the bonuses that auto executives gave themselves last spring — Bill Brock, the United States Trade Representative, complained that the average bonus was \$2,000 more than the auto worker's average yearly pay — and hinted that quotas on

Japanese cars would be dropped next spring if the union strikes or gets too lucrative a settlement. Mr. Bieber called the Administration pressure blackmail.

## The Candidates Commence Firing

If the rest of the Presidential campaign maintains the tone of its first week, it's going to be a rip-roaring. Promises were tossed out, gauntlets were thrown down, accusations flew and fears arose.

Economics quickly emerged as the first major issue. Walter F. Mondale, in an unusual opening gambit, had kicked off his campaign with a promise to attack the deficit by raising taxes. He also promised President Reagan would do it if re-elected.

While Mr. Mondale took the week off to fish in Minnesota, Democratic surrogates picked up that theme, charging that the Administration had a "secret" tax increase ready to spring practically the day after the election.

The President denied it — sort of. He said he had "no plans" for such an increase but said it might be necessary if, after new budget cuts, Government spending was still too high.

Mr. Reagan then launched his own offensive, beginning in Texas at a "Reagan-Bush Family Festival." He lit into the Democrats for "punishing America" with high inflation and "endless" tax increases. He ridiculed his opposition's calls for compassion, suggesting that it be reserved for "the real families" who he said had suffered under years of Democratic "domination." He proposed to help them out with tuition tax credits, among other things.

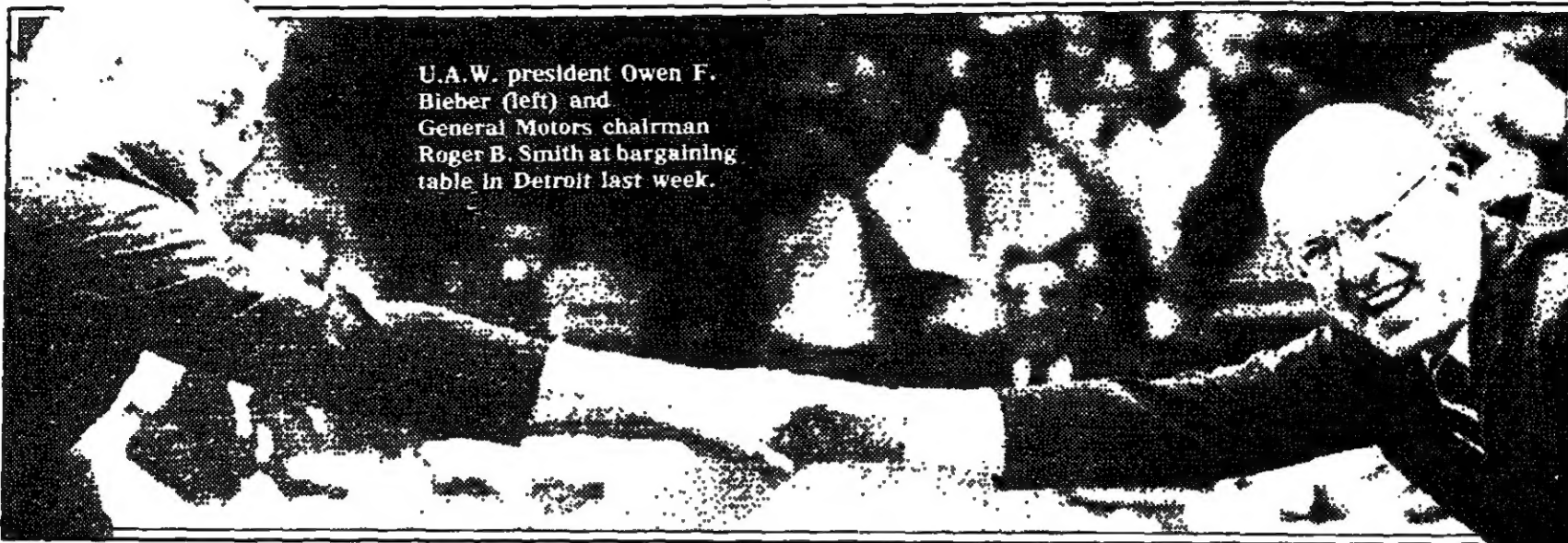
The President brought similar themes to Hoboken, N.J., where, while praising the Pope and eating spaghetti at a Catholic church dinner, he signaled his intention to go after the Northeast's Catholic and ethnic voters.

His attendance was viewed as an open challenge to the Democrats, who hope to strengthen their appeal to those groups through the Vice Presidential nomination of Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro. The Republicans hope to be able to play down the historical significance of her candidacy and concentrate instead on labeling her, as one Administration official put it, "the sixth or seventh most liberal member of the House."

Mrs. Ferraro, meanwhile, took a swing through Boston, where she responded to Mr. Reagan's claim that there was not "one single fact or figure" to prove the poor had suffered disproportionately under his Administration. She noted that a new report by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service estimated that at least 567,000 people had dropped below the poverty line as a result of Reagan-requested budget cuts. She also said a General Accounting Office Report supported her contention that Administration cuts in Aid to Families with Dependent Children had left 500,000 families with no benefits.

At week's end, Mr. Mondale wrapped up his fishing trip and prepared to wade into the fray personally this week, campaigning with Mrs. Ferraro in Ohio, Mississippi and Texas. Mr. Reagan headed to his California ranch for 19 days of rest.

Michael Wright,  
Carlyle C. Douglas  
and Caroline Rand Herron



U.A.W. president Owen F. Bieber (left) and General Motors chairman Roger B. Smith at bargaining table in Detroit last week.

## Maneuvering on Vienna Talks Suggests Kremlin Uncertainty Over Presidential Race

# The Third Party in U.S. Elections: Moscow

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON — For both Ronald Reagan and Walter F. Mondale, relations with the Soviet Union loom as an important campaign issue. Each candidate wants to portray himself as better able than the other to preserve peace, to negotiate arms control accords and to stand firm against Soviet aggression.

The Soviet Union is hardly an uninterested bystander in the election, since relations with the United States remain the most important of any for the Kremlin's leaders. But the Russians have often been awkward in their handling of elections in Western countries. The Soviet embrace could be fatal for its preferred candidate.

This is what happened in the recent elections in West Germany and Britain, where the conservatives won handily against socialist parties with which Moscow would have been more comfortable. For the moment, it seems uncertain what to do about the United States.

In the hope of persuading Americans to vote Ronald Reagan out of office, the Russians seemed to be suggesting earlier this year that no improvement in relations was possible so long as he was President. The Russians

were so convincing in ruling out any thaw in relations that when asked on June 14 why he thought the Soviet Union was so chilly toward him, President Reagan replied that "it's very obvious — I wouldn't expect them to do anything that might help me in the coming election — but I think when it's over and they know that four years lie out ahead, then I think they'll talk."

But more recently, the Soviet Union has appeared to be testing the possibility that Mr. Reagan will be re-elected and that it should take advantage of this to strike deals now lest the offers expire after the elections. On June 29, two weeks after Mr. Reagan had given up hope of an early dialogue with Moscow, the Soviet Union suddenly proposed to the Reagan Administration that negotiations begin in mid-September in Vienna on preventing the military use of space.

The Reagan Administration seized on the offer despite its lack of enthusiasm for the subject, and said it would be in Vienna to discuss a range of issues. But it is far from certain that these talks will take place. The Administration has said it wants to raise the question of the suspended negotiations on curbing medium-range missiles in Europe and strategic arms. The Soviet Union has decried Washington's approach. On Friday, a Deputy

Foreign Minister said that Washington's refusal to agree categorically to limit the talks to space weapons was making the start of such discussions "impossible."

The White House responded quickly, denying that talks were impossible and asserting that it was preparing to go to Vienna. It said that the United States will listen to whatever Moscow has to say about space weapons and answer constructively; and that Moscow does not have to listen to what the United States says, but has an obligation to the world to resume negotiations.

### Hedging Its Bets

Even if there aren't any, no one is sure why the Russians called for the talks to begin just six weeks before the November elections. To some, it seemed as if the Soviet Union was hedging its bets. It appeared as if some Kremlin leaders had decided that in case Mr. Reagan was re-elected, it would be better for them to have called for talks before Nov. 4 than to look as if they were crawling to them after he won.

The June 29 offer was followed by agreements between the two countries on setting up an improved "hot line," on extending economic cooperation, on restoring Soviet fishing rights off the American West Coast, on

commencing cultural exchange talks at the end of the summer, and on settling a boundary dispute off Alaska.

These relatively minor steps have not had much effect on the overall frosty atmosphere in relations, but they demonstrate a certain political dexterity in Moscow as it seeks to position itself for the American elections.

Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader, is cautious and unlikely to follow the example of Nikita S. Khrushchev, who in 1960 made it clear that he was so angry with the Eisenhower Administration for the U-2 flights that he was eager to help the Democratic candidate, John F. Kennedy, defeat Richard M. Nixon, Mr. Eisenhower's Vice President.

In his memoirs, Mr. Khrushchev said he deliberately delayed releasing two captured RB-47 pilots in the summer of 1960 to avoid helping Mr. Nixon's campaign. But Leonid I. Brezhnev, Mr. Khrushchev's successor, signed a series of "détente" agreements with Mr. Nixon after he became President, and met with him three times.

This year, despite a strong anti-Reagan line in the Soviet press, Soviet reporting from the United States has been careful to prepare the Soviet people for the strong possibility that Mr. Reagan will be President again. The Soviet press noted that although the Democrats now counted on increased support from women and blacks, "an uphill trek lies ahead." Irvestia said that the Democrats will have "considerable difficulty" in winning the White House "where their opponent has entrenched himself with all the odds in his favor."

## Amtrak Had Two More Fatal Accidents Last Week

# Some Stones Are Left Unturned in Railroad Safety Efforts



Rescuers helping an injured passenger after crash of two Amtrak trains in Queens last week.

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

WASHINGTON — John Riley, the Federal Government's chief rail safety official, grimaced a little as he insisted that Amtrak was having "the worst of times in the best of times." It was a difficult argument to make in a week punctuated by Amtrak's fourth and fifth fatal accidents of the month.

Mr. Riley's assurances, based on statistics showing that 1983 was the passenger railroad's safest year yet, did not appear to assuage the fears of two Congressional subcommittees investigating a string of crashes unprecedented in Amtrak's 13-year history.

The lawmakers were disturbed by indications that the rail industry, though improving its safety record, has not taken full advantage of existing safeguards.

"Railroads are not as technologically advanced as other forms of transportation," said Patricia Goldman, vice chairman of the National Transportation Safety

Board. "As one of our former chairmen used to say, 'In too many cases, they still operate by fire and flag.'"

Miss Goldman told the subcommittee that the Government had also not been sufficiently vigilant. She said the Federal Railroad Administration, for example, had ignored 17 board recommendations when it chose to weaken track safety rules in 1982.

Mr. Riley responded that track-related accidents have fallen sharply in the past five years as railroads have invested more in capital projects.

Amtrak and Federal officials say there is no common thread in this month's accidents. But as investigators began searching for the causes, there were several instances in which the lack of up-to-date equipment, or failure to follow past safety board recommendations, appeared to have been a factor.

W. Graham Clayton, the president of Amtrak, said the head-on collision in Queens that left 1 dead and 125 injured last week was probably caused by the failure of a signalman, Rodney Rosemond, to throw a signal. This al-

lowed a northbound train to enter a track already occupied by a southbound train.

Mr. Riley disclosed that traces of cocaine and marijuana had been detected in Mr. Rosemond's urine and said his agency has been pushing for new rules to crack down on drug use among train crews. However, he said he doubted that this accident was related to drugs. The matter is still under investigation.

Mr. Clayton said a more automated signaling system, already installed in most of the Northeast corridor, would probably have prevented the crash. Such signals are to be installed along the Queens track within a year.

An accident in Vermont earlier this month raised another longstanding safety question — whether Amtrak and the contractors that operate its trains outside the Northeast Corridor are prepared to deal with sudden bursts of foul weather. In the crash, an Amtrak train derailed near Williston, Vt., when heavy rains washed out the track bed above a culvert. The accident occurred along a section of track that does not have automatic sig-

nals — installed along most of the Northeast Corridor — that would stop the train when the track is broken.

Safety officials have said such signals might not have prevented the accident because the rail appeared to have remained intact. But the safety board has questioned why the train, operated by the Central Vermont Railway, was allowed to leave New Haven without an operable radio.

In addition, board officials have reiterated a recommendation, made after a 1982 washout, that railroads avail themselves of local weather alerts gathered by the National Weather Service. The weather service had issued a flash flood warning for the area near Williston.

The three other accidents this month involved grade crossings, where the often deadly interaction between car and locomotive has long worried railroad and Government officials.

On July 4, two people were killed in South Carolina when a train hit a parked truck. Four days later, a train crew member and the driver of a gasoline truck died in a collision at a grade crossing in South Carolina. Last week, a woman was killed when a train hit a truck at a crossing in Goose Creek, S.C.

Of the more than 250,000 grade crossings in the United States, only 55,000 are protected by gates that fall when a train draws near. There are 17 collisions each day between trains and cars, resulting in a daily average of 1.3 fatalities.

Mr. Clayton, the Amtrak president, said "the best solution is to eliminate grade crossings" and he announced that the railroad would soon remove the last two crossings on the track between Washington and New York. Mr. Clayton added, however, that the cost is high — about \$500,000 for each crossing.

Perhaps the best example of train safety is Japan, where the "bullet train" operates at speeds over 200 miles per hour and has never had a fatality in 20 years of operation. Amtrak has had 24 passengers killed in its history, eight in the past eight months.

Amtrak officials say the comparison is unfair since the Japanese built the track for the bullet train from scratch. It has concrete railroad ties, as opposed to the wood customarily used in this country, and no grade crossings.

Still, Mr. Clayton pledges to improve the safety record of Amtrak and he attributes the July surge in accidents to bad luck. "In this business, there is an old wife's tale that says accidents come in bunches," he said. "I think these are happenstance."



# Music Video's Uncertain Payoff

The demand is there. But so far, the producers have found profits are elusive.

By PETER KERR

THE images flash, glow and then melt into one another like a nightmare dreamed to the beat of a rock-and-roll tune: A singer's face, illuminated by an orange flame, floats in a sea of blackness. Three women, their eyelids closed and painted with the wide, white eyes of an Egyptian mummy, peer into darkness. The singer writhes on a bed of clouds. Twelve hooded horsemen gaze down upon the singer as he prances into a ring of fire.

Jarring and fractured as these images may be, they form one of the most successful music videos of the year, a five-minute production called "Eyes Without a Face." For more than six weeks it has received extensive play on MTV: Music Television, the 24-hour cable channel, and according to CBS Records, it spurred sales of more than half a million copies of the album "Rebel Yell" by the British singer Billy Idol, with wholesale revenues of \$2.5 million.

But the year-old company that produced the video, Picture Music International, barely broke even on the \$88,000 venture. "Eyes Without a Face" epitomizes the problems confronting not only Picture Music, the industry's leader, but the industry itself: The music video market, despite escalating demand for its products, has not yet become profitable for its producers.

"The frustration is that all this work may seem to outsiders like nothing more than a labor of love," said John Diaz, head of Picture Music's New York office. "But it's not. Music video production is now a grown-up business and we have established enough of a reputation to start making real money at what we do."

The problem, however, is that the money is not yet rolling — or even trickling — in. Music videos, the two-to-six-minute visual renditions of popular songs, are getting increasing play on cable and broadcast television and the pulsating "music video look" is spreading into films, commercials and fashion. And cassettes of music videos are expected to play a growing role in the mushrooming home video cassette market.

But the people who create videos are fighting just to break out a profit. Most record companies continue to regard the videos as an expensive form of promotion and they steadfastly resist attempts of video producers to lift fees. And analysts say they are unsure of the permanence and long-term profitability of the music video rage. Although the hot-selling hour-long video, "Making Michael Jackson's Thriller," has sold more than 750,000 cassette copies since it was made last December, that seems to be an aberration, reflecting the allure of Michael Jackson more than of music video.

ON paper, the music video production business would seem full of promise. Started in London in the late 1970's, it was originally financed, in part, by rock groups looking for new ways to present their songs. Today, it has grown so widespread that the release of most major new records is accompanied by a music video.

It has been estimated that at least 1,200 music videos were made in the United States and Europe last year — double the number of a year earlier. Major record companies, which pay producers to make them, are believed to have spent more than \$50 million on videos last year. And MTV reports that the production of videos recently reached a pace of 35 a week and continues to grow.

Most promising of all, MTV, by far the most important and profitable video programming channel, last month signed agreements with four major record companies to pay them for the exclusive use of some of their videos. MTV was founded in 1981 by Warner-Amex Cable Communications, with the idea that television, like radio, could be an important tool for promoting record sales. Since then, it has asked record companies to provide videos at no cost, just as they provide new record releases to radio stations.

Some video producers see the new deal signed by MTV as a sign that they will soon get a share of MTV's rapidly expanding profits. "The MTV deal was critical for us," said Mr. Diaz, the 34-year-old head of Picture Music's New York office. "MTV is saying that music videos are programming that should be paid for."

And indeed, MTV's profits are becoming formidable. According to figures released this month, MTV's advertising revenues have grown from \$7 million in 1982 to its current rate of more than \$1 million a week. In the first half of 1984 the channel took in more than \$26 million from advertisers, earning more than \$8 million.

The music video producers, of course, hope to benefit from all of this. When Thorn EMI, the British music and consumer electronics giant, set up Picture Music last summer, it bet that a well-financed and professionally managed production company could cash in on the booming popularity of music videos. In an industry where most companies are small, underfinanced, and managed by people with little experience in business, Thorn EMI's \$1 million sub-



John Diaz of Picture Music's New York office, left, with a video clip of Billy Idol.

sidy allowed for a staff of 40.

"We have designed a company to reach a marketplace that has not fully developed yet," said Bhaskar Menon, the Los Angeles-based chairman and chief executive of EMI Music Worldwide, the music division of Thorn EMI. "We already know about the music industry's large appetite for video clips. With the enormous growth of music programming on cable and broadcast television and the increasing penetration of video cassette recorders, we expect to see a much larger demand for all kinds of audio-visual materials."

SINCE Picture Music was established, its offices in New York, Los Angeles and London have churned out more than 150 music video clips, including such star rock-and-roll performers as David Bowie, Duran Duran, and Stray Cats.

But to make up for some of its video losses, the company has moved into other video directions and according to Mark Levinson, Picture Music's 42-year-old president, the company expects to see most of its earnings eventually coming from products other than the short video clips.

"We see rock videos as just a springboard for a broader business," said Mr. Levinson, who is based in the company's Los Angeles office.

It has produced commercials for Coca-Cola, RCA and Sony, and sales presentations for JVC cassette recorders and Jensen audio-visual systems. It also produced "London Calling," a monthly program of British music videos for MTV. In June, it began syndication of "Rock-N-America," a late-night comedy program that received mixed reviews on its premiere, but that has been picked up by stations in 54 markets. The company has also produced three segments of a classical music series and a pilot for a series for the Disney Channel.

Picture Music is also hoping to cash in on the growth of the home video cassette market. Sales and rentals of video cassettes totaled \$1 billion last year, and 4 percent of that went to music videos, according to F. Ebersoldt & Company, which compiles such statistics. Music videos, it added, are expected to rise to 25 percent of a \$5 billion market by 1988.

Many music video producers acknowledge that the videos may not bring large profit margins until the public starts to buy cassettes in large numbers. Picture Music already has produced 40 music video cassettes and has entered into a partnership with MTV to produce cassettes of top music videos.

Many of Picture Music's competitors have similar hopes of success. MGM-M Overview and Lighthouse Films and Videos, two privately owned British video production companies that each produced more than 85 videos last year, say they are oper-

ating in the black, but have yet to realize large profits.

If video production becomes profitable, the production companies may have to contend with new competition from large corporate players, including some of the major record companies. "I think it is something we would look at closely," said Charles J. Mitchell, vice president, program production at RCA. "But first we would have to be sure that it was cost-effective and that the profit potential was really there."

Others are betting that it will be. Following the lead of MTV, which now reaches 22 million households, the networks, cable channels and independent television stations have rushed to offer music video programs. Today, more than 200 of them are on the air.

Hollywood, too, began realizing the music video's potential for the film industry. In 1983, "Flashdance," a video-style compendium of rock tunes and dance sequences, was made for a modest \$9.6 million and earned Paramount \$36 million at domestic box offices alone. Since then, the studios have begun production of a steady stream of music video films, planned with record and video cassette releases in mind.

The "music video look" seems to be diffusing into many aspects of broadcast television as well. Brandon Tartikoff, president of NBC Entertainment, this spring announced that the network was attempting to incorporate music video production techniques into some of its prime time series. For example, "Miami Vice," a detective program scheduled to start in September, will be made with a rock-and-roll score that will be simulcast on radio. Dick Ebersol, producer of "Saturday Night Live," says the comedy show will begin to include a number of fast-moving taped segments next season.

"You can see the effect of music videos in commercials that are faster, have more action, more music," added Joel Segal, executive vice president for broadcasting at Ted Bates/New York, the advertising agency. "There is an art to this and there is going to be a demand for people who know how to do it."

Whether they can do it and turn a profit is another question. The record companies have increased their spending for the videos — they pay between \$40,000 and \$60,000 for each — but they are now also asking for more complex, dazzling, expensive productions. The newer video producers, in fierce competition for work, often underbid one another and produce videos at a loss.

"A lot of people are willing to make videos for practically nothing, just to break into the field," said Martin Kahan, who operates a video production company in New York.

Picture Music is now moving more aggressively to counter that trend

and to turn a profit. Beginning this summer, Mr. Levinson said, Picture Music will stop accepting videos that provide no margin for profit. Most production costs will attempt to include a 30 percent markup, he said, so that the company can earn \$7,000 to \$8,000 on a \$50,000 video.

"What we have tried to do this year is prove that we are not a bunch of long-haired hippies," said Mr. Levinson, who had been an executive in record and film companies before moving to Picture Music. "I think we have established that we are fiscally responsible businessmen."

Picture Music, Mr. Levinson said, hopes to earn \$250,000 to \$500,000 on revenues of \$6 million to \$8 million in the 1984-85 fiscal year, and wean itself off subsidies from the parent company. By 1988, he said, Picture Music hopes to realize earnings of \$6 million to \$10 million on \$30 million to \$50 million in revenues.

But its plans for profitability assume a major change in the music video industry, one that is by no means certain: that record company and television executives will start paying for videos as programming.

The optimism has come from MTV's announcement last month that it would pay four major record companies \$4.6 million in cash and free advertising time for exclusive rights to some newly released videos. While MTV, which is now being spun off into a separate public corporation, would not disclose the names of the companies involved, sources familiar with the agreements said they included CBS Records, the record divisions of the RCA Corporation and MCA Inc., and Geffen Records. An MTV spokesman said last week that negotiations were continuing for similar deals with other major record labels.

BUT a number of record company executives are skeptical about the trend toward paying for videos. "At this point videos are a promotional expense and we have to live within our budgets for promotion," said Larry Solters, the vice president for artist development for MCA Records. "I just had a brilliant video produced for \$20,000 by two young unknown guys who were looking for a break. There are always going to be smaller companies who have no secretaries or business managers or telephones who can do it for less."

Picture Music originally proposed making its hot-playing "Eyes Without a Face" video for \$109,000, which would have permitted the company a markup of roughly \$20,000 over costs. But Chrysalis Records refused to spend more than \$88,000 for it.

Over the following two weeks Picture Music employed more than 40 people to do the video. Musicians, directors and staff people had to be transported to Los Angeles, where the video was filmed, and the set, modeled roughly on German impressionist paintings, cost \$15,000. Labor for the two 12-hour days of shooting came to \$11,500. With other costs added in, the final price for the five-minute video was almost exactly \$88,000.

On lower-budgeted videos, Mr. Diaz said, Picture Music has often employed tricks to give the videos the appearance of more expensive productions. In November, for example, Picture Music produced a video entitled "State of the Nation" that looked like it was filmed on a huge surrealist set, including naval guns, military aircraft, and a large marching band. In fact, Mr. Diaz said, the video was made for \$37,000.

The "set" was actually the deck of the U.S.S. Intrepid Sea, Air, and Space Museum in New York at night. The production company gave the retired aircraft carrier the appearance of an eerie stage set by flooding the deck with blue and white lights, red emergency flares and billows of smoke. The marching band from a Long Island high school was hired; instead of wages, the company gave a \$1,000 contribution to the school.

The efforts of Picture Music and its competitors notwithstanding, a number of analysts still question whether music video will ever reach the profits envisioned by its backers.

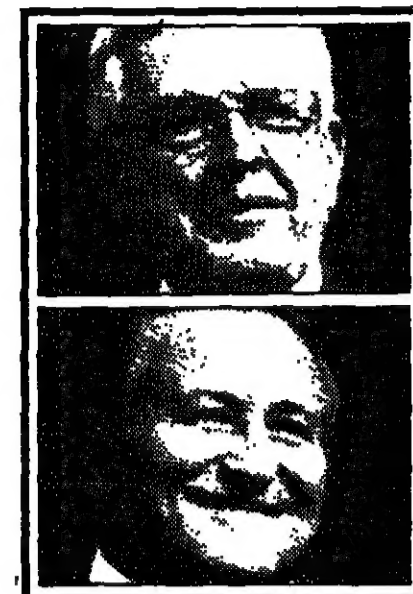
"The proliferation of music video programs and speculation about the sale of video cassettes indicate there are a lot of ways that video music producers can make money," said Dennis H. Leibowitz, an analyst with Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette. "But anything that gets this much attention still has the smell of a fad. We are going to have to wait and see."

# The Economy

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

## \$4.5 Billion Rescue For Continental

Rescued. The F.D.I.C. finally set forth its \$4.5 billion rescue package last week for Continental Illinois. The plan — the largest intervention ever by the United States Government into private business — calls for a \$1 billion injection of new capital plus assumption of \$3.5 billion in delinquent loans by the F.D.I.C. In return, the agency will control 80 percent of Continental's stock and current shareholder value will be virtually wiped out. The top management will also change. John E. Swearingin, former chairman of Indiana Standard, and William S. Ogden, a former Chase vice chairman, will hold the top jobs. Wall Street was encouraged by the bailout, while Treasury Secretary Regan accused the F.D.I.C. of exceeding its regulatory authority. Meanwhile, Continental reported a \$1.1 billion second-quarter loss.



John Swearingin, top, and William Ogden

Down, Boys. Federal Judge Harold H. Greene had to hold back the new regional telephone companies from diversifying too rapidly into unregulated businesses like real estate and equipment leasing. In a harshly worded 85-page order, he told them to concentrate on their local telephone service and be patient.

The F.C.C. increased the number of television and radio stations a company or individual can own to a total of 36, from 21. The move eases the so-called 7-7-7 rule passed in 1963 that restricted media ownership to seven television stations, seven AM and seven FM radio stations, and it raised the permissible number to 12 across the board. By 1990, according to the commission vote, almost all restrictions will be lifted.

The economy's strength continues to baffle the forecasters. Gross national product grew at a 7.5 percent annual rate in the second quarter after factoring out inflation, the Commerce Department said. The results were much stronger than the 5.7 percent "flash" forecast, yet slower than the sizzling pace in the first quarter, which was revised upward to 10.1 percent. Inflation, meanwhile, slowed to a 3.2 percent annual rate, from 4.4 percent in the first quarter, as measured by the G.N.P. deflator.

Analysts noted that the last 18 months marked the strongest recovery since 1949 — more fuel for the Reagan campaign machine.

The good inflation news continued, as the Labor Department said the Consumer Price Index rose only two-tenths of 1 percent in June, the same as the May increase. Clothing and gasoline prices fell, while food prices rose only slightly. And for those waiting for signs of a slowdown, June factory orders for durable goods gave some hope — dropping 3.2 percent.

Automobile Catches. Ford and General Motors continued the spectacular earnings performance begun by Chrysler a week earlier. G.M. profits rose 60 percent from the 1983 quarter

to \$1.6 billion, while Ford rose 67.7 percent to a record \$909 million. Both companies benefited from greater cost controls, a shift in consumer preference to larger cars and a general auto-buying recovery.

Greater steel demand and somewhat higher prices helped some in the industry turn a profit. Bethlehem had earnings of \$24 million, its first quarterly profit since the end of 1981. National Intergraph had profits of \$24.6 million, and Wheeling Pittsburgh earned \$5.3 million.

Exxon surprised analysts with a 25.6 percent jump in earnings to \$1.35 billion. The world's largest company said the increase came particularly because of strong foreign exploration and crude oil production. Mobil's profits fell 9 percent and Texaco's were off 3.6 percent, while Indiana Standard earnings rose 24 percent and Arco gained 3.3 percent.

The S.E.C. is investigating insider trading violations by a former lawyer at Wachter, Lipton, Rosen & Katz that could have netted him as much as \$40 million in profits and involved the stock of 40 corporations. A partner at the New York law firm specializing in takeovers declined to identify the associate who is reportedly the target of the investigation, but said he had recently resigned.

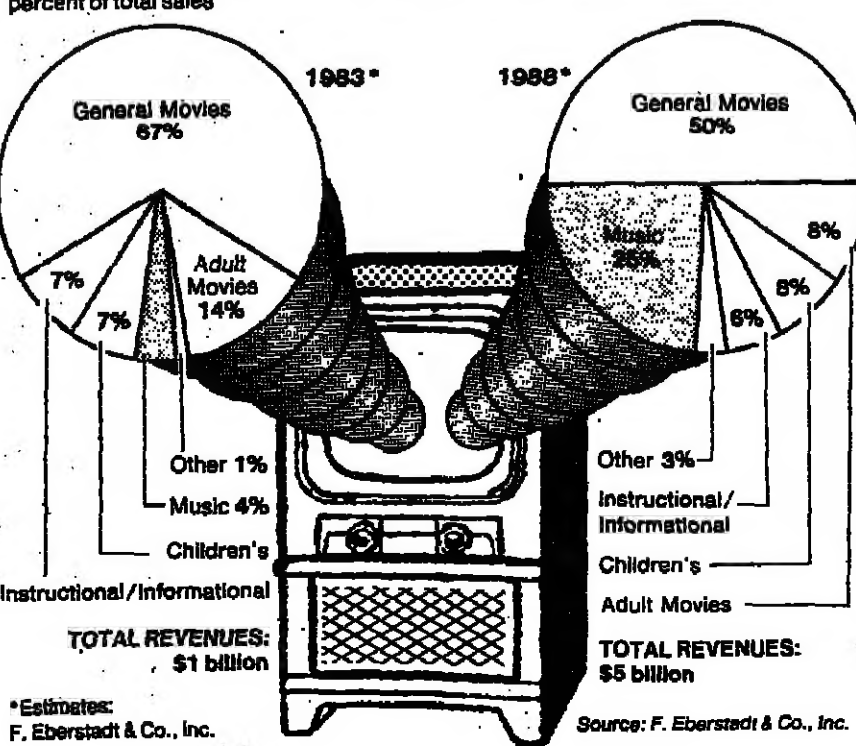
Fed Chairman Paul Volcker calmed some fears on Wall Street by telling Congress that the Fed had decided not to tighten monetary policy at its open market committee meetings early this month. Noting that the growth of the money supply was within target ranges, Mr. Volcker said that there had been no changes in the growth ranges set for 1984 and that 1985 targets had been reduced only slightly.

Wall Street welcomed the testimony, as stock and bond prices soared. The Dow, which had hit its lowest point in 17 months on Tuesday, rose for the next three trading sessions, closing the week at 1,114.62, up 13.25 for the week.

Nathaniel C. Nash

## Fast Forward for Music Video

Home video revenues by program category in millions of dollars and by percent of total sales



The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JULY 27, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
Cont'l	10,357,400	4%	+ 1	
AT&T	7,355,600	17%	-	
IBM	5,295,100	10%	+ 2 1/2	
FinCap	5,275,200	9	- 1/4	
AMR	5,022,300	26%	-	
Gen Mot	4,498,000	85%	+ 1/2	
EastKod	4,178,900	74%	+ 2 1/2	
Exxon	4,125,800	40%	- 1/2	
ITT	4,025,900	24%	+ 1 1/2	
Ford Mot	3,937,900	36%	+ 1	
Chrysler	3,426,500	27	+ 1/4	
Mobila	3,424,100	35	+ 3/4	
St Regis	3,246,500	45%	+ 3/4	
NindPS	3,202,800	12%	- 1/4	
Gen Elec	3,055,900	51%	+ 2 1/4	
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	171.7	166.8	171.4	+1.43
20 Transp	122.5	115.9	122.4	+3.71
40 Util	65.7	64.3	65.5	+0.77
40 Financial	14.7	14.0	14.7	+0.57
500 Stocks	151.3	147.2	151.1	+1.84
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1124.2	1078.9	1114.5	+13.25
20 Transp	471.2	436.5	468.6	+14.85
15 Util	125.2	122.1	124.3	+0.83
65 Comb	437.0	417.1	433.2	+6.81
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED JULY 27, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
WangB	2,667,800	25%	...	
TIE	1,194,100	10%	+ 1/4	
DomeP	652,400	1%	- 1/4	
Amdahl	561,100	10	- 1/4	
DataPd	503,500	17	- 1/4	
GrdCo	464,500	11%	- 1/4	
HornH	449,900	12%	- 2 1/2	
KeyPh	440,800	14%	+ 2 1/2	
CrytIO	405,800	8%	+ 1/4	
Verbm	360,800	8%	- 1/4	
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
1,013	981	2,231	26	470
VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	434,654,111	Last Week	12,968,905,880	Year To Date
Same Per. 1983	437,967,440	Last Week	12,985,319,535	Year To Date
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last	Net Change	
Indust	101.9	99.3	101.9	+0.75
Transp	77.3	72.3	77.1	+2.79
Util	44.7	44.0	44.5	+0.34
Finance	79.3	78.5	79.3	+1.82
Composite	67.0	64.8	67.1	+0.80
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	101.9	99.3	101.9	+0.75
Transp	77.3	72.3	77.1	+2.79
Util	44.7	44.0	44.5	+0.34
Finance	79.3	78.5	79.3	+1.82
Composite	67.0	64.8	67.1	+0.80
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
271	470	901	12	106
VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	25,579,635	Last Week	848,821,275	Year To Date
Same Per. 1983	40,041,930	Last Week	1,358,658,469	Year To Date



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
ORVILLE D. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

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## The Last Non-Olympics

"I declare open the Olympic Games of Los Angeles," the President proclaimed, and so the XXIII Olympiad began. Despite the Russians' bruising boycott, the Games bring the most contestants ever. But let these be the last of the modern non-Olympics.

Vigorous competition and soaring achievements make any Olympics exhilarating. The ideal is inspiring: a universal contest, in one place at one time, among amateur athletes deciding who's best in the world.

But that ideal has not been realized at any Olympics in a quarter-century. Amateurism died when the Russians came in. Universality ended with boycotts — by Africans in 1976, the United States and its friends in 1980, now the Russians and theirs. The young men and women who take home the gold from Los Angeles will never know whether they were really best.

Of all the impediments, the two most crippling have been money and politics.

About money: Nominally, all Olympic athletes are amateurs; in fact, not all are. And the faint dividing line between amateurs and professionals tends only to corrupt.

There's much hypocritical finger-pointing at Communist governments that rather openly subsidize their athletes. But plenty of non-Communist nations employ tawdry hidden subsidy. Commercial promotions and outright gifts pour millions of dollars into the pockets of supported amateurs.

As William Simon, who heads the U.S. Olympic

Committee, points out on the opposite page, this issue is further confused by inconsistent rules for different sports. Tennis pros under age 21 are admitted. American football pros, their sport not played at the Olympics, are nonetheless excluded from track events in which they're amateurs. Enough already. Let everyone compete.

About politics: There's no sure way to prevent boycotts, but the jingo trappings that encourage them can be reduced. Why not abolish parades of national flags and the flag-raising and anthems for each winner? There will always be national teams for team sports, but why not dress and treat the athletes like the distinguished individuals they are?

The boycotts have finally stirred the International Olympic Committee to think about deterrents, like banning boycotters from returning the next time. But it's doubtful such a ban would deter major nations, which are so eagerly wanted back.

The Olympic spirit will be best served by choosing a permanent site. Already there's risk of another Soviet boycott in 1988, because the Games will be in South Korea. And China, also a potential boycott target, may want to be host in 2000. The answer is to accept Greece's offer of a truly international enclave near Mount Olympus. If that's not workable, try Switzerland.

The object should be not favor to one nation or disfavor to others. The Olympics need to be preserved as a true test of athletic excellence. Let neither false amateurism nor misplaced nationalism stand in the way.

## A Bank Held Up by Government

Continental Illinois Bank is being nationalized. Much as it must pain the Administration to find that free-market remedies aren't always best, Government is taking over. Thanks be for Government.

This is not, of course, an ideological act of socialism. Continental is in quest of high profits. It overcommitted itself to oil ventures that turned sour with the oil glut. Like other big banks, Continental also had losses on foreign debt, but it could have survived them, like the others have, with a stronger base.

Difficulty became crisis in May, when foreign depositors nervously pulled money out. The Government and other major banks quickly lent Continental new billions, then looked for a permanent solution. But no private takeover could be arranged, so it was nationalized or sink. The choice was obvious. Only demagogues will see it as favoritism toward a big bank.

Indeed, precisely because Continental is large — eighth largest in America — its bankruptcy would have injured hundreds of other institutions. As it is, the bank's stockholders have taken a bath and will soon lose control to the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Top management is out, too, with more housecleaning to come. Only depositors emerge whole, and that raises a question.

The F.D.I.C. normally insures deposits up to \$100,000. Its rescues are financed by fees on banks — not by the Treasury. When Continental went to the brink, the agency felt compelled to announce it would cover any size deposit at no extra fee.

That unplanned coverage above \$100,000 turns out to be necessary for very big banks, and may be desirable for smaller ones. But the F.D.I.C. as now constituted cannot afford to provide it. New fees are obviously needed, and to be fair they should be proportionate to the risks that different banks incur.

Congress should digest the Continental case in its debate of overall bank deregulation. Whether banks require more or less regulation, they clearly need better regulation. Continental's crisis was self-inflicted, but its regulators failed to impose the necessary caution in time. A major crisis has been checked, but the banking system's stability cannot depend on Government bailouts.

And there is no way that the number of citizen-owned guns in the U.S. — 250 million — will ever be reduced significantly enough to hamper criminals.

Since guns used in crime amount to less than 0.2 percent, you would need to strip 499 honest people of their means of protection to block criminal access to just one gun. (Besides, most crime guns are obtained illegally.) Justice Department polls have found that convicted felons fear armed citizens more than they fear the police, and indeed each year three times as many violent criminals are killed by citizens than by police. Honest gun owners (there is a gun in one of every two households) are America's single most effective crime deterrent.

We must make our choices on fact and not emotion. We can't turn back the clock to a time when guns were unknown. If all guns in this country somehow vanished overnight, criminals would produce millions of them in underground machine shops, just as they are now producing illegal drugs.

And James Huberty didn't need guns to do what he did, only a compulsion to kill. He could just as easily have run down those people with his car, or made a bomb, or sprayed gasoline.

This nation will always have an ample supply of both guns and nuts, and if just one good person in that McDonald's had been carrying a gun, the madman might have been stopped before he had slaughtered 21 defenseless people.

STEVEN NOTIS  
New York, July 23, 1984

Shortchanged Savers

To the Editor:

Paul Samuelson brags that "no culture ever got to over 50 percent of homeownership as we did in the years after the war" (news story June 30). This was accomplished by a passbook savings interest rate ceiling of 5 percent coupled with an inflation rate ranging from 5 percent in the 50's and early 60's to 12 percent in the late 60's and 70's: savers got a zero or negative return on their savings, and homeowners paid a zero or negative interest rate on their mortgages. In effect, savings accounts were confiscated and used to pay for interest-free mortgages.

JESSE BRYANT  
New York, June 30, 1984

Stinging Losses

No scene of battle portrays a more horrible carnage. One side cuts through its opponent's skin with a finely toothed saw to draw its blood; the other responds with brutal chemical and bacterial warfare.

It's the pitiless strife between man and mosquitoes. Besides the theft of blood, they leave us with itches to scratch or diseases that kill. We repel them with N,N-diethyl-metololamide, and poison their offspring with pesticides and bacilli.

Yet we don't prevail. "We've gone through 5 to 10 pesticides and resistance is increasing on all fronts," says the president of the American Mosquito Control Association.

How can we have spent so much money with only disputable increases in readiness? How can we justify spending more on weapons that prove costly, unreliable, and increase the enemy's resistance?

It's time for a new defense policy.

Estimates of what it costs to make things in the sky range from \$50,000 to \$500,000 a pound, not to mention costs of transporting workers to the plant and the product back down to market.

Duty-free status would encourage the commercial use of space. Considering the money involved, it will take a lot of encouraging.

Self-damaging boycotts are not usually a good idea. But neither is it helpful in the long run to demonstrate that Americans will swallow anything to make a buck and win a vote.

## Letters

### As Robots' War on the U.S. Work Force Intensifies

To the Editor:

It is indeed probable that by the end of this decade Walter Mondale will find one of the wishes he expressed in his nomination acceptance speech fulfilled: He will be able to walk into the finest stores and find that the finest items are marked "Made in U.S.A."

It is also probable that these items will have been made by robots on automated production lines, untouched by human hands.

Political rhetoric aside, cheap foreign labor is only one of the reasons American jobs have been lost to overseas competitors. For the last 25 years the labor component of manufactured goods has been steadily decreasing as manufacturers have automated production lines.

Automation solves several problems. It substitutes equipment for labor in a country where money is cheap and manpower is expensive. It

makes it easier to meet Federal mandates for work-place safety and pollution control. It increases the reliability of production by minimizing disruption due to human error and labor unrest.

Finally, by reducing the number of workers employed, automation produces impressive gains in output per man-hour, the most common measure of productivity. (It should be noted that the greatest gains in productivity in recent years occurred during the 1982-83 recession and were due almost entirely to the reduction in the labor force.)

All of these advantages have induced American industry to reduce the labor component of manufactured goods from approximately 60 percent during the 1950's to less than half that figure today. As manufacturing technology increases, the labor component declines at an increasing rate.

According to the Electronic Engi-

neering Times, a trade paper for engineers and technical management, Apple Computer has designed the new Macintosh assembly plant to lower the labor content of the computer to less than 1 percent. Just 100 people, aided by another 100 support staff, assisted their robotic partners in making 72,000 Macintoshes in 100 days. Further, Apple expects to raise that rate fourfold without quadrupling plant personnel in the process.

This type of experience, repeated to a greater or lesser extent in most manufacturing activities, has led to the situation where it is cheaper to pay people not to work, to maintain a permanent underclass of unemployed, than it is to endure the loss in productivity that labor-intensive forms of manufacturing entail. The movers and shakers of our economy may say otherwise, but their actions speak louder than words.

I can think of at least three ways of reversing the process, apart from the protectionism suggested by Mr. Mondale.

First, tax incentives for reducing the labor component of manufacturing should be removed or, better yet, reversed. No investment tax credit should be allowed for new equipment which results in job reduction, and additional credit should be awarded for job creation. Current tax policy makes a tentative start in this direction, but the incentive for upping labor use should be greatly increased.

Second, manufacturing technology should be directed at enhancing worker effectiveness rather than at eliminating the worker. Productivity increases can be achieved in the traditional sense by increasing the quantity and quality of worker output rather than by reducing the labor force.

Finally, the entire labor-use policy of American industry should be reviewed, with Federal support and incentives given to those sectors which produce a high quantity and quality of output without reducing the labor component of the product.

Yes, Mr. Mondale, that fine-quality product may well be stamped "Made in U.S.A.," but I do hope an American worker will have made it.

LAWRENCE R. ZEITLIN  
New York, July 20, 1984  
The writer is professor of industrial psychology and organizational behavior at City University's Baruch College.

### A 60's Generation Made by Myth-Makers

To the Editor:

In his Op-Ed article about "Baby Boom Voters" [July 15], Carter A. Eskew asks how "the generation that lived through Vietnam, Woodstock, Watergate and the assassinations of the 1960's" ended up backing Ronald Reagan.

I'm not sure of the answer, but I think something is wrong with the question. It rests on the assumptions that we were a rebellious generation leaning to the left, or it implies that after living through those events we could not logically turn to the right.

But regarding those events: Many, if not most, of my generation did not march against the Vietnam War, however much we disapproved. We were studying, working in new jobs, starting families or we were in the military. I, for example, would have found it difficult to organize a protest on the flight deck of an aircraft carrier.

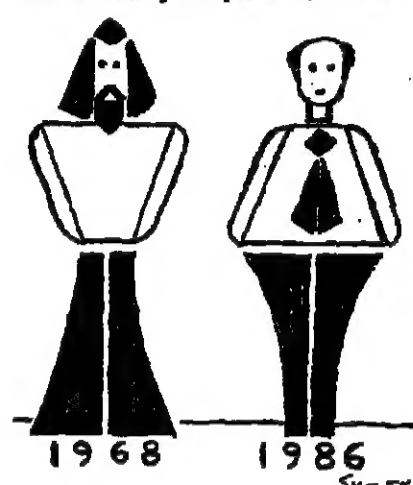
Most of us never set eyes on Woodstock, and of those who attended that concert, most were probably doing what young people of every generation have been known to do in their own unique style: raising hell.

Also, it was not my generation that forced Nixon out of office. For the most part, that was accomplished by older journalists and members of Congress.

And what did the assassinations

of the 1960's have to do with party affiliation?

If some of us rejected certain values held by our parents, it should



be noted that most of our parents were New Deal Democrats.

My suggestion is that the Vietnam-Woodstock-Watergate-assassination generation occupying Mr. Eskew's mind is a myth. The myth-makers made the best headlines. The real baby boomers did the voting. Thus Mr. Eskew's confusion.

T. ST. LAURENT  
Brooklyn, July 16, 1984

### Of Gun Possession And a Massacre

To the Editor:

Perhaps now, in the wake of the McDonald's massacre, would be a good time for pro-gun people like myself to lie low and lick our wounds, but your editorial "The Gun Collector" [July 22] was so full of misinformation and so calculated to sway an emotionally vulnerable readership that I feel obliged to reply.

Curbing gun possession would not just inconvenience hobbyists and sportsmen, it would strip all honest people of the ability to protect themselves and their families from crime. A gun in the home is not more likely to inflict harm than provide protection. There are 300,000 annual incidents in which a gun is used to deter crime — usually without a shot being fired.

And there is no way that the number of citizen-owned guns in the U.S. — 250 million — will ever be reduced significantly enough to hamper criminals. Since guns used in crime amount to less than 0.2 percent, you would need to strip 499 honest people of their means of protection to block criminal access to just one gun. (Besides, most crime guns are obtained illegally.)

Justice Department polls have found that convicted felons fear armed citizens more than they fear the police, and indeed each year three times as many violent criminals are killed by citizens than by police. Honest gun owners (there is a gun in one of every two households) are America's single most effective crime deterrent.

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JESSE BRYANT  
New York, June 30, 1984

### Jobs in Space Can't Be Left to Machines

To the Editor:

Nicholas Wade's Editorial Notebook article "Stranded on the Sea of Tranquility" (July 20), which advocates using machines rather than people for future space exploration and development, misses the point: Humans and robots are not mutually exclusive; their relationship is symbiotic. Automation makes space stations feasible, but it will require the presence of men and women to make them work.

To provide but two examples:

• The crew of Skylab had to perform more than 50 tasks during unplanned extra-vehicular activity, including the vital deployment of a sun shade, without which Skylab would have been too hot to function as a useful space laboratory.

• On the fourth flight of the space shuttle, the computer running a prototype electrophoresis device needed 55 keyboard entries, 14 of them unscheduled and requiring judgment beyond the capability of the computer.

There is also an economic justification for a manned presence in space. NASA is now studying plans to partition tasks between crew and machines on the space station. One instance involved folding and unfolding elements of the space platform. A completely automated approach would involve some 15 separate de-

vices and cost "no more than" having a crew member do it.

Further, we submit that without a manned space program, there would be very little space program at all. As demonstrated by the alarming drop in public support for NASA between the demise of Skylab and the maiden flight of the space shuttle, public enthusiasm does not exist for unmanned space exploration and development.

After all, what allure is there in sending robots where no man has gone before?

FRED WHITING  
Executive Director  
American Space Foundation  
Washington, July 20, 1984

To the Editor:

Nicholas Wade complains of "lumbering humans" getting in the way of all that technology. However, improving the current perspective and future prospects of that lumbering humanity is what all that research and expense has been about. And such improvement can best be accomplished by a human presence.

President Kennedy's call to reach the stars was a challenge not only to America's laboratories but to its soul as well.

FRANK V. VERNUCCIO JR.  
Editor, The Space Press  
New York, July 20, 1984

### Election-Year Rhetoric Worth Listening To

To the Editor:

Will polemical use of the term "rhetoric" undermine our opportunity for democratic dialogue in this election year? Consider the following passage in Governor Cuomo's fine keynote address to the Democratic National Convention: "We must answer our opponent's polished and appealing rhetoric with a more telling reasonableness and rationality."

Let's be fair: Mario Cuomo's and Jesse Jackson's substantive speeches were nevertheless as "polished and appealing" to those of us who share their views as President Reagan's speeches are to his constituency. And you can be sure that the Republican Party will draw a bead on the "rhetoric" of both addresses: the emotional appeal to a sense of "family," the figurative call to "higher ground" and the evocation of the speakers' personal backgrounds, for example.

But such appeals give life to civic issues; they shouldn't be distrusted as "rhetoric" but evaluated according to

their reasonableness or lack of it.

Rhetoric has been variously defined during its 2,500-year history, and there have always been those who have viewed it as merely manipulative language. Others, however, have noted its role in reasonable argument. For example, Francis Bacon claimed that "the duty and office of rhetoric" is "to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will."

From that point of view, the notion that "they" have a monopoly on rhetoric and "we" have a monopoly on reasonableness only serves to distort political dialogue.

To the degree that the electorate dismisses opposing arguments as "rhetoric" without giving them balanced and careful consideration, we make the mandate in November more a ballot count than the resolution of political discussion. We opt for political power based more on demography than on democracy.

H. LEWIS ULMAN  
University Park, Pa., July 19, 1984

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS Flora Lewis

### Impasse In Israel

**A**bove all, the Israeli elections have revealed the depth of division in the country. At a time when the Jewish state stood before the most important crossroads of its short history, the verdict was indecision.

A great many factors were involved. In unforeseen ways, America also contributed to an impasse that can only complicate U.S. efforts to help bring peace in the Middle East. One was the irony of well-intentioned political theory.

In search of a perfect democracy, the founders of Israel established a political system based on national proportional representation. In the 1920's and 30's democratic socialists, watching the rise of mass support for totalitarianism, urged P.R. as an antidote to protect minorities.

There were advocates in the European left, but among the most forceful were the Progressives in Minnesota and Wisconsin. When Golda Myerson, later to become Golda Meir, was growing up in Milwaukee, election by P.R. to a single legislative chamber was hailed as the most advanced democratic structure.

Israel adopted it with no limits, not even regional constituencies, except to require 1 percent of the total vote to win a seat. The immediate result was a proliferation of parties. No one has ever won a majority. Coalition government is inevitable.

The kind of single-interest pressure groups that can force compro-

### The perfect political theory has brought unhappy results

mise before elections in the United States emerged with the balance of power after elections in Israel. That fragmented opinion and made dealing with major issues more difficult.

At the same time, it reinforced the party apparatus against the ordinary voter's will. Israelis cannot select a candidate, only a party list, and only the party itself can decide who comes where on the list and therefore has the chance of a seat. That, too, encourages lots of little parties to accommodate independent ambitions.

It is unlikely that Rabbi Meir Kahane could have won a place in the Knesset under any other system. His extremist supporters were scattered around the country, nowhere a majority.

Rabbi Kahane and a disproportionate number of his disciples are also American exports. It is puzzling why the American Jewish community, which sent the most modern-minded, highly skilled migrants to Israel in the early days, now contributes so many extremists. Rabbi Kahane's avowed goal is to expel all Arabs.

He doesn't openly call for driving them out by force. But the message is implicit. His followers understand. The support they find in the U.S. is even more disturbing. No doubt it is marginal, a small minority as in Israel, but it tends to intimidate reasonable people with its charges of less than full sympathy for Israel's destiny.

A campaign in Southern California to raise money for the families of imprisoned Jewish terrorists in Israel is an example. Personal drama has been added because one of them is Gordon Richter, the 22-year-old son of Pasha Gordon, who lives here.

Rabbi Maurice Lamm of Beverly Hills has spread her appeal for help and indulgence on the grounds that the prisoners who attacked a busload of Arab workers or planned a bombing massacre were "patriotic, religious people." He claimed that Jewish terrorists deserve compassion because they act out of "religious zeal."

It is an argument the Ayatollah Khomeini had already used to justify outrages in the name of Islam. It is unworthy of any American.

There has been a peculiar ambiguity in the intimate American-Israeli relation. Dedication to the state's survival has brought reluctance to criticize. But as Israel's closest and often only friend, with its own resources committed, the U.S. can better help Israel and itself by recognizing when there should be second thoughts.

The American Jewish community shouldn't be afraid to speak out when it is misrepresented, even by American-born Israelis. And it isn't improper intervention to urge a national unity government now for the one purpose of revising the electoral system so that Israel can at last produce a viable majority, thereby relegating fringes to the fringe. The United States contributed to Israel's deadlock, as well as to its existence. Now it can recommend reform to bring capacity for decision.

By William E. Simon

**A** lot of teeth have been unavailingly gnashed over the Soviet and Eastern Bloc boycott of the Olympic Games. The boycott is, of course, a major problem, but there is far more than that to worry about.

The Olympic movement and the International Olympic Committee, or I.O.C., must rapidly come to grips with a host of key matters that simply will not go away: the absurd contradictions in determining amateur eligibility, the role of athletes themselves in charting the future of the games, the long-overdue enlargement of opportunities for women. Regrettably, the I.O.C. is out to lunch.

The most pressing question is whether the Olympic movement can survive repeated invasions by governments that want to make participation an adjunct of foreign policy. Hitler's exaltation of Aryan superiority at the 1936 Games in Berlin seems mild in comparison with more recent acts: the Palestinian terrorist attack at Munich in 1972, the 1980 American-led withdrawal to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and now the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Games.

The purpose of the Olympic movement is to provide competition among the world's athletes and thus to advance international understanding. But those noble objectives are seriously compromised when governments try to use the Olympics to score points for their foreign policies.

The Olympics don't belong to world governments. They belong to the world's athletes. It's impossible to eliminate government involvement. But we should seize every opportunity to reduce it to a minimum.

A good starting point would be a joint United States-Soviet compact under which both sides would agree to proceed with the games regardless of government demands. The United States Olympic Committee has proposed this idea to its counterpart in the Soviet Union — indeed, our committee opposed President Jimmy Carter's decision to withdraw from the 1980 Moscow Olympics, although once he made the decision we felt obliged to stand behind him. Whether there is any breathing room at all between the Soviet Olympic Committee and the Soviet Foreign Ministry is yet to be seen, but we think a noncancellation pact would put a far greater burden on governments that try to wrap their foreign policy in the Olympic flag.

William E. Simon, former Secretary of the Treasury, is president of the United States Olympic Committee.

Edna Vonnegut

# Olympics for the Olympians

The I.O.C. should also consider proposals to establish five permanent Olympic sites. The member nations would be asked to commit themselves to participate in the games at these sites regardless of future political considerations. An advance commitment would make it far more difficult to withdraw at the last minute, particularly if the I.O.C. imposed a substantial withdrawal penalty.

The logic for having more than one "permanent" site is self-evident. If the Games were tied to one country, the entire Olympic movement would be hostage to that country's politics in every Olympic year. There are no permanently neutral sites in this contentious world and it is extremely naive to assume otherwise.

Putting the games on a sound financial basis is another imperative. Currently, 80 percent of the Olympic budget is derived, one way or the other, from the United States, particularly the sale of broadcast rights. Various I.O.C. leaders frequently make indignant speeches condemning "commercialization" of amateur athletics, but they rarely complain about the burgeoning cost of the vast international athletic bureaucracies that eagerly consume so much of the proceeds. It is time they understood that the huge deficits that would come from banning "commercialization" would promptly doom the Olympic movement. The Los Angeles Games promise to be a spectacular model for private-sector support of the movement, and the I.O.C. should incorporate the successful aspects of the Los Angeles experience into a long-range program of support.

But while the Olympic movement burns, the I.O.C. fiddles. There is, in fact, a Commission on the Olympic Movement in the I.O.C. structure, but at a recent meeting it chose to ignore the Games' long-term future and instead focused singly and simply on the implications of the 1984 Soviet-led boycott. The world's athletes deserve a lot better than this.

Take the question of who is and who is not an "amateur." The Olympics, everyone believes, are for amateurs. Anyone who believes this proposition believes also in the tooth fairy. For years, the various international sports federations have generated elaborate criteria attempting to divide amateurs from professionals. Jim Thorpe was stripped of his 1912 Olympic medals when it was discovered that he had been paid to play in a few semipro baseball games. Decisions are still made every week on whether an individual athlete has forfeited amateur status. Things have reached the point where no one can identify any real principle underlying these decisions. The result is a crazy quilt of hypocrisy and fraud.

Consider the case of Antoine Carr.

A standout basketball player, Mr. Carr was drafted by the Detroit Pistons of the National Basketball Association. He chose, however, to play for a team in the Italian Basketball League, which paid him a reported \$200,000 a year. Does this make him a professional? Surprise! Because the International Amateur Basketball Federation chooses to believe that the Italian league is an amateur league, Carr remained eligible for our Olympic team, while Isiah Thomas, who did sign to play with the Pistons, became an ineligible professional.

Consider the case of Ron Brown. This world-class sprinter, a fine football player, was drafted No. 1 by the

Cleveland Browns in 1983. But he wanted his chance to run in the 1984 Olympics, so he stayed out of football for a year. Merely signing with the Browns — even if he never set foot upon the field — would have made him a professional. Brown appealed to the International Olympic Committee for permission to sign a contract, providing he did not actually play for the Browns before the Olympics. Absolutely not, said the I.O.C. Merely signing the paper makes you a pro, even though football is not even an Olympic sport.

Anyone for tennis? Under I.O.C. rules, any tennis player under the age of 21 may qualify. This means that college amateurs, if they are a day over 21, cannot play in the Olympics even though they have never taken a penny. It also means that professionals like Jimmy Arias and Mats Wilander, both under 21, are eligible, even though they are earning half a million dollars a year!

The examples go on and on. There are hockey players and skiers and bike racers and skaters who are making big bucks through all kinds of ingenious devices. Phil Mahre, the American skier, has been quoted as

saying that the top 50 competitors in international skiing make at least \$50,000 a year. In short, hundreds of the world's best athletes are being forced to engage in sophisticated cheating to preserve their amateur status.

The Olympic movement cannot survive without widespread public support. Will that support continue as

the public becomes aware of the sophistries being used to separate "amateurs" from "professionals"? Absolutely not, and it would be a tragedy for the I.O.C. and the sports federations to continue to pretend there is no problem here.

The United States committee has asked the I.O.C. to adopt new, clear, understandable principles on eligibility. In condensed form, they are:

1. An Olympic athlete loses eligibility only if he or she is paid for competing in that particular sport. An athlete can be an amateur in one sport and a professional in another.
2. Signing a professional contract is not grounds for loss of amateur status in that sport, so long as payment is not received for signing and the athlete has not yet actually performed under contract.
3. Endorsing a commercial product, earning publication royalties or making a public appearance for money are not grounds for disqualification so long as the money is not received for an actual athletic performance.

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## How the Democrats Can Win

By Joseph L. Rauh Jr.

**A**t the risk of being promptly dispatched to the loony bin on a warrant sworn out by the conventional wisdom dispensers, I can't get over the idea that the odds are shifting to the Democrats for November.

As one who participated actively in eight of the 10 post-World War II Democratic National Conventions, I do not remember a convention that presented as compelling an image to the electorate as this one. The losers did not squabble over rules or credentials, and there were no major disruptive platform splits. We had electrifying liberal speeches right after night and a historic vice presidential choice. The Presidential nominee's acceptance speech even told the truth on the need to raise taxes — the toughest issue of them all. What more could anyone want?

I also disagree with the conventional wisdom that the Democratic platform shifted significantly to the right — and I think this will help the Democrats in November. Sure, I would have preferred the three platform changes sought unsuccessfully by Jesse Jackson — no runoff primaries, a pledge of no-first-strike, a substantial cut in defense outlays. I would also have been happier with more specifics and less thematics. Even so, the gulf between the Democrats' liberal platform and the Republicans' conservative one will

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., a civil rights lawyer in Washington, has been active in liberal and Democratic Party affairs since the New Deal.

likely be the widest in this century, and this fall's election will indeed be a liberal vs. conservative referendum — this time without the Republicans owning family and flag.

But, if the convention put the Democrats on the right road, it was only the first lap of a very long journey — and victory depends upon keeping the momentum rolling for the next three months. As an ancient New Deal liberal, I offer a prescription for doing just that.

First, the Democrats need to show their boldness — and to do so, they need to clarify their positions. My only complaint about the Democratic platform is about its ambiguity — at times, it seems, a calculated ambiguity. One can, for example, read the platform either way on legislation requiring domestic content in automobile manufacturing. To me, it seems less important which way Walter F. Mondale comes down on the issue than that he avoid looking weak by hiding behind a flow of ambiguous words. So, too, on issues like health care, housing, nuclear power and a host of others, the Democrats must use the campaign to clarify their views.

Affirmative action may be the most important of these issues, for here the natural tendency will be to provide different nuanced interpretations to

### Completed: the first lap of a very long journey

Jews and other minorities. The platform pledges the "use of affirmative action goals, timetables and other verifiable measurements" to eliminate discrimination — and that clearly means preferences for qualified minorities and women until reasonable goals and timetables are met. Waffling would be a sure sign of weakness, the road to disaster. Clarity on this and all the other issues is the only way to achieve the boldness and Presidential demeanor needed for success.

Second, the Democrats need to evoke intense support from among all the constituencies that make up the party. The convention showed that the Roosevelt coalition of liberals, labor, blacks, urbanites, unemployed, the poor and near-poor is not only in place but strongly augmented by other minorities, environmentalists, doves and, above all, the gender gap. It is held together by a deep belief in affirmative government — in the ability of the people to use the democratic process to improve the lot of all. But the effectiveness of the coalition will depend in substantial part on "the intensity factor."

The tendency for any candidate is to take one's natural constituency for granted, rely on lieutenants from within other constituent groups to intensify interest there and move to the center to find new converts. But unless voters feel that the candidate cares for their group and for each of them, they are unlikely to vote in enough strength to produce the turnout needed for victory in November. Such evidence of caring and respect is especially necessary in the case of black voters — and Jesse Jackson's active participation will be critical if the Democrats are to win.

Third, the Democrats must make a campaign issue of "the sleaze factor." If there was one thing conspicu-

ous by its absence from the convention, it was any reference to the unethical cast of characters assembled in the Reagan Administration — certainly the most unethical in my lifetime. The numbers alone are staggering. Even worse is the fact that some of the highest officers in the Administration are involved and their number even includes those charged with enforcing law and ethics.

Actually, this record of unethical conduct should have come as no surprise to anyone. An Administration that holds that government is part of the problem has no motivation to insure that such government is not tarnished. Under Ronald Reagan, the ethics of the marketplace have become the ethics of government.

Fourth, the Democrats need a respected Southerner in a top job in the campaign. Why did the party shy away from the sleaze issue at the convention? I can only think it was because of Mr. Mondale's last-minute effort to rehabilitate Bert Lance, who also left the Government under a cloud. Mr. Mondale's loyalty to Mr. Lance — and to President Jimmy Carter, too — is an admirable private trait, reminiscent of Hubert H. Humphrey's loyalty to President Lyndon B. Johnson on Vietnam. But Mr. Humphrey's loyalty lost one election, and this is no time for a repetition. A Presidential campaign is not a rehabilitation center or a half-way house, and the candidate's higher loyalty must be to his constituency and his country.

What can be done now to remedy the situation? Leave Mr. Lance with whatever title he has, but create a new and bigger title and a new top position for a moderate white Southerner. Persuade a respected ex-Governor (Terry Sanford or Reuben Askew) or a distinguished Senator (Ernest F. Hollings or Dale Bum-

ers) to come to the aid of his party and do the job.

Fifth, the Democrats must make an effort to draw independent voters into the fold. F.D.R. pointed the way when he created an independent committee headed by Senator George Norris and Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia to rally independents and wayward Republicans. Today, the Democrats might consider enlisting John B. Anderson,

### Victory hinges on keeping up momentum for 3 months

who has great appeal to the independents and disaffected Republicans unhappy with the defeat of Gary Hart. Mr. Anderson also looks and acts like Mr. Clean and could be very effective in keeping the sleaze factor before the public.

Would Mr. Anderson do it? Obviously, I don't know. But he did decide not to run again, even with a big Federal check waiting for him, because he did not want a Reagan victory forever on his conscience. There is no reason to believe he would not consider going the whole distance with the Mondale-Ferraro ticket.

Okay, the Democrats can win. Will they? Yes, if the Walter Mondale we see from now on is the one who boldly chose Geraldine A. Ferraro and boldly pronounced his intention to raise taxes.



# They Make the Stage Speak Without Words

By ELEANOR RACHEL LUGER

Imagine the complexities of translating "A Chorus Line" into Japanese, Swedish, German, Spanish or Portuguese, as it has been. Now imagine translating it into a language without spoken words, as it also has been. That language is American Sign Language (ASL), the visual/gestural vocabulary of the deaf and hearing-impaired.

Two New York City-based organizations, the Theater Access Project (TAP) and Hands On have been producing sign-interpreted live theater for the tri-state area's 1.8 million deaf and hearing-impaired. Since 1980, when "The Elephant Man" became the first Broadway show to be sign-interpreted, TAP's 10 theatrical signers have performed silent versions of a number of Broadway shows, including "Brighton Beach Memoirs," "Night, Mother," "My One and Only," "Death Trap," "The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas," "Annie," "Amadeus" and "42nd Street." Next on TAP's schedule is "Noises Off," Aug. 15 and Sept. 18.

Hands On has set up shows at Circle Repertory Company, the Public Theater, Dance Theater Workshop and the Manhattan Theater Club. Earlier this month, there was a signed performance by Hands On of Shakespeare's "Henry V" in Central

Park. Hands On will also do signed performances of "The Golem" in Central Park on Aug. 23 and 30.

American Sign Language substitutes for speech a dizzying combination of animated hand gestures, facial expressions and body movements. In a signed performance of "Little Shop of Horrors," for example, Carl Chopinsky and Marie Taccogna of Theater Access Project mouthed all of the words spoken or sung in perfect synchrony with the actor he or she was interpreting. Simultaneously, with their hands, each signer delivered the dialogue and, in time to the music, the lyrics. When a trio sang a song in the Supremes, the interpreters, their hips rolling and swaying, created the harmonies by signing in unison. Their hand movements were clipped and hiccupping, or rolling and sustained, mimicking the sound of the voices. At the climax of the show, when Audrey II, a huge man-eating plant advanced toward the audience and the music swelled, the interpreters' signs grew broader, extending farther from their bodies, engulfing more space.

It is a common misconception for a hearing person with little or no knowledge of American Sign Language to over-emphasize its resemblance to mime and dance. While acknowledging that it contains elements of both, its practitioners stress that ASL is a precise language that even possesses dialectal properties — regionalisms, accents and epithets.

Translating a show into ASL is a time-consuming and tedious process. For nearly a month before Mr.



In American Sign Language, these gesturing hands spell out the title of Marsha Norman's play, "Night, Mother."

Chopinsky performed "Little Shop," he saw it five or six times a week, spontaneously signing and silently singing along with the actors until he knew the entire production by heart. On weekends, his partner, Miss Taccogna, traveled to New York from Washington, where she is an administrator at Gallaudet, a college for the deaf. They saw the show together, then decided upon and rehearsed the signs. Next, scene by scene, they divided the signing of the characters between them. Since the age and sex of the interpreter is irrelevant to the character being interpreted, both signers, over the course of the production, played all of the parts. "We tried to do justice not only to the interpretation of the spoken word of the play, but to the character and action, as well," explained Mr. Chopinsky, who, by day, works as a professional interpreter in places such as courts and hospitals.

Sign-interpreting the production is only one part of the involved process of organizing such a performance. First, a play must be deemed adaptable and permission to sign it must be secured from the producer. To allow the signers six weeks of preparation, and time to solicit and process tickets, TAP's coordinator has to be sure that the play will not close in the meantime. A guarantee of a block of 150 seats, with optimum sightlines, must be secured from the box office. The signers (usually two) must be chosen, along with an understudy, who doubles as a signing usher. Additional ushers conversant in signing must also be engaged. One cast rehearsal with the signers must be arranged. At that rehearsal, the placement of the signers, and the lights, which are carefully plotted to allow for best visibility of the interpreters without disturbing the audience or de-

tracting from the production, must be worked out. Also at the rehearsal, a team of hearing professionals and members of the deaf community, all of whom have seen and read the play beforehand, evaluate the signers for clarity and accuracy of interpretation.

A logo for the show in sign language and the characters' sign names must be drawn and given to Playbill for a special program insert with information on the play and biographies of the signers.

TAP is administered by the Theater Development Fund (TDF), a not-for-profit organization whose purpose is to bring new audiences to New York theater, music, and dance events. According to Janet Gracey, TDF director of operations, the signing project has been blessed. Not only has it received support from private foundations and corporations, but, says Miss Gracey, the "unions have looked the other way." TAP carries its own equipment into and out of the theater, and is not charged by the electricians who hang the lights. In addition, Playbill provides the special program pages free of charge.

TDF entered the business of making theater available to the handicapped in 1979. It sent its first mailing to 10,000 people, representing the six handicapped areas it now serves: the partially sighted, the blind, the hearing impaired, deaf, physically disabled, and those confined to wheelchairs. TDF guaranteed to the 900 people who responded, special seating, the privilege of ordering and receiving tickets through the mail, summaries of plays, and details of nearby public transportation to the many music, dance and theater events it offers each year.

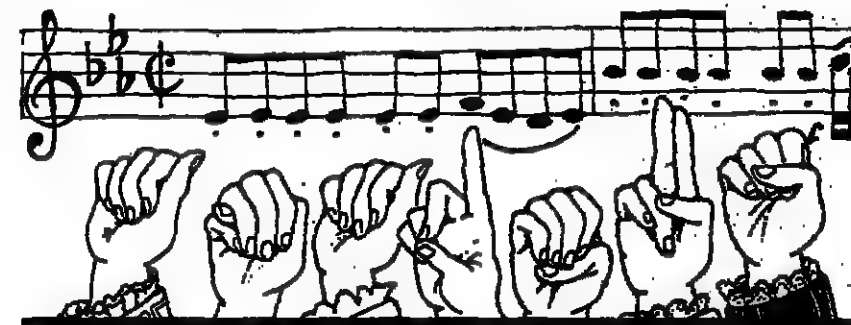
Following the initial mailing, Miss Gracey recalled, the deaf community responded by saying, in effect, "If you really want to provide us with a service, you'll provide interpreters." Within a year TAP complied, and it now offers six sign-interpreted plays a year, with two performances of each play. Tickets

for the performances, which almost always sell out, range from full to half-price, and the deaf and hearing impaired are allowed unlimited ticket purchases. Miss Gracey told how the experience had affected one family — hearing parents who took their deaf 19-year-old son (who had never been to the theater before) to a TAP performance. "For the first time," Miss Gracey said, "the family shared the same experience simultaneously. Suddenly, they were all in one world."

Candace Broecker of Hands On says her organization takes the shar-

prevor (both of whom work for the New York Society for the Deaf), and Janice Cole, a hearing-impaired actress.

Hands On's first affiliation, with Chelsea's Dance Theater Workshop, was so successful that the theater's director, David White, hired the organization to teach the DTW staff elementary signing to make the theater better suited to serving the hearing handicapped on an ongoing basis. Mr. White then arranged for Hands On to interpret two programs on its winter theater series. DTW has installed permanently a TTY, a device that en-



Under notes from Mozart's "Magic Flute," hands announce a signed performance of the musical "Amadeus."

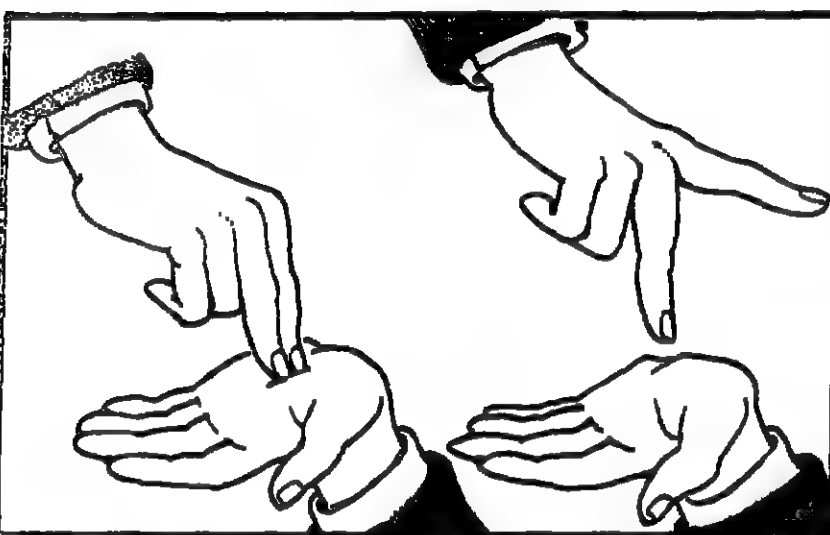
ing even further. At Hands On performances, the deaf are not seated separately from the hearing audience, and following each performance that Hands On coordinates, there is a question and answer period for the audience, actors and interpreters.

Hands On is affiliated with the Alliance of Resident Theaters/New York (A.R.T./N.Y.), a not-for-profit organization which provides services for Off and Off Off Broadway theaters. Miss Broecker believes that these theaters offer some advantages to the deaf that Broadway can't: less expensive tickets and smaller houses, usually making for better sightlines.

Miss Broecker, an actress and interpreter, runs the two-year-old organization with Janet and Beth

ables the deaf to make telephone reservations for all of the theater's offerings, be they signed or not.

Other cities and other art forms are also reaching out to deaf audiences. Signed performances have taken place in Los Angeles, Atlanta, Boston, Washington, Minneapolis and St. Paul. New York City Opera will offer its fourth sign-interpreted performance with a Sept. 9 production of "The Mikado." On television, ABC provides 16½ hours of closed captioning a week, PBS provides 13 hours and NBC closed-captioned programming in September. A cable station, devoted entirely to programming for the hearing handicapped, began operations in Los Angeles last winter.



These dancing fingers in a recent Playbill were for the musical "On Your Toes."

## Arts & Leisure

STAGE VIEW  
BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

### Will Critics of a Later Day Give Inge His Due?

Miller, Williams, Inge. Only 25, 30 years ago people thought of them as a triumvirate, and the triumvirate seemed pukka and permanent, the theatrical equivalent of the kind of firm you'd trust to invest your money, or mount an advertising campaign for you, or take your enemies to court and win. Unluckily, time has not been equally friendly to all three partners. Words like "classic" and "masterpiece" were pretty liberally bandied about when "Death of a Salesman" and "The Glass Menagerie" came high-stepping onto Broadway this past season. But Inge's first great success, "Come Back, Little Sheba," was far less rapturously received when it slipped into a rather less prestigious address downtown the other day. The impression given by one or two of my more eminent colleagues was that they'd have had a better time counting the hairs on the back of their hands, or maybe pulling them out.

It doesn't seem altogether fair. Admittedly, the play's cogs and sprockets aren't as well oiled as they might be. Setting up a situation, filling in background is sometimes a creaky business of people telling each other what they already know. "When I think of the way you used to drink!" Lola Delaney gratuitously informs her alcoholic husband Doc. "Always getting into fights, we had so much trouble. And I was so scared! I never knew what was going to happen." Often one wishes Inge's hand were defter, lighter or just plain quicker. Rarely can that old challenge, how to establish boredom without your play becoming boring itself, have been as ignominiously botched as in the first scene, when Lola invites in the milkman for a glass of water, interminably chatters to him, then tries and fails to start a conversation with a neighbor, then succeeds in getting one going with the milkman, and then, as if that weren't enough, starts listening to radio ads. It was a good thing television was a relative rarity in middle-income households when the play was first produced. Inge might have played us a couple of episodes of "I Love Lucy," or its 1950 equivalent, just to ensure that the slowest and stupidest member of the audience was in absolutely no doubt that Lola was very, very lonely.

Again, he handles symbolism rather like an Olympic weight lifter, raising it with agonizing care, brandishing it with a tiny grunt of triumph, then dropping it with a terrible clang. Surely it would have been enough for Lola to be heard plaintively calling her lost dog Sheba from time to time. But no. It must be emphasized and reemphasized that the puppy, with her "hind-end that wagged from side to side," is really Lola's fading youth and vanishing sexiness. Indeed, the play actually begins and ends with her dreams on the subject. In the first, Lola is forlornly seeking for the mutt, and in the second accepting its death.

Yet Inge was not always very subtle with his symbolism, and several of his successors were less than smooth when it came to handling their dramatic machinery. Is it possible that we're exaggeratedly intolerant of Inge's awkwardnesses because his reputation was so substantial

so recently? A later, more detached generation than ours may shrug them off as "of their time," stylistic cracks that mar the building but don't, however, bring it crashing to the ground. They'll still, no doubt, find him sentimental here, glib there; but they may acknowledge the skill that could create a character like Rosemary Sydney, the forgettably prurient schoolteacher in "Picnic," or establish the tacky-café atmosphere of "Bus Stop." They may modestly appreciate his sympathy for the loners, the outsiders of American society.

That's apparent enough in "Little Sheba." Lola and Doc share a pretty isolated marriage in the Middle West, nowhere-in-particular, thanks both to the stillbirth of their only child and to the alcoholism that he seems to be on the verge of conquering. They've no friends, no one but each other and a demurely seductive girl-lodger half their age. It is, as it turns out, a dangerous human mix. Inge was always much concerned with the sexual force-field invisibly projected by the young, and its power to unsettle and disturb those of mature years. That's at the core of "Picnic" and "A Loss of Roses," and at what one's tempted to call the very epicenter of "Little Sheba." Lola and Doc are, so to speak, precariously subsisting on top of the San Andreas Fault of their own thwarted longings.

Not that Paul Weidner's production at the Roundabout gives one quite the feeling it might of being in earthquake country. That's partly because the play, like most of Inge's others, begins gently, placidly. As Tennessee Williams pointed out, its author's talent was "for offering, first, the genial surface of common American life, and then not ripping but quietly dropping the veil that keeps you from seeing yourself as you are." All the same, it's hard to believe that Philip Bosco's Doc is as close as he actually is to sneaking off with the whisky bottle that's sat untouched in the kitchen cupboard for nearly a year. Every now and then he signals the edginess his provocative little lodger is causing him — a clench of the fist, knuckles white and shiny, when he hears the sound of her boyfriend in her bedroom — but one doesn't sense, as one increasingly should, the reptile-life tumultuously writhing inside him. The intensity of his eruption, when it comes, is more surprising than it should be. Where people are concerned, you don't expect a Richter-scale reading of 8 or 9 without some ominous rumblings first.

Still, when Mr. Bosco reaches his crisis, he does so with grisly conviction. In he circumspically lumbers, at first sight well under control, but actually drunk beyond drunkenness, alternately mean and mawkish and violent. Anyone tempted to call Inge a sentimentalist, as many have done, should take a good, hard look at this encounter. Thirty years ago the sight of a husband waving a knife at his wife, accusing her of forcing him to marry her, describing her as an "old heifer," then actually threatening to "hack off all that fat — all that fat harnessed into one bundle" — well, it must have seemed extraordinarily ugly. If one day an audience manages to sit calmly through the scene, it won't be because Inge has dated, but because the world has become insensible to pain.

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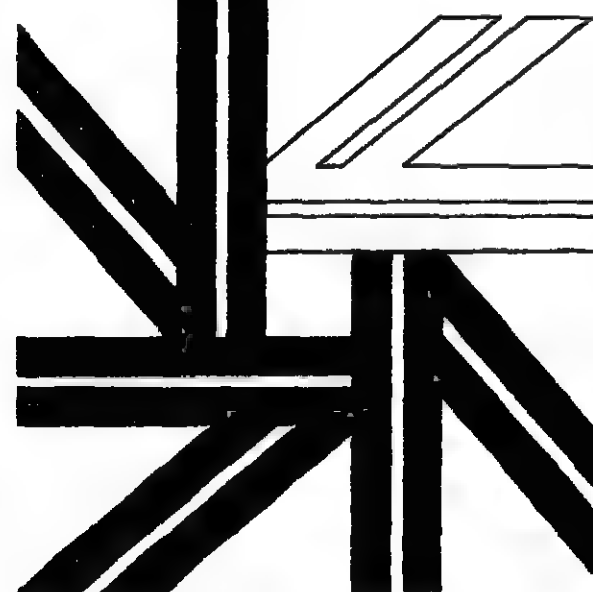
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**"PORTRAIT, no details available,"** said the radio schedule for a Sunday evening Voice of Music broadcast. Which was not terribly enticing, so I tuned in late, and had no idea whose marvelous Yekke accent I was hearing. We soon learned that it was somebody who had gone to Hebrew high school in pre-World War I Germany: loved the brass bands that used to play with a pre-loudspeaker vigour of their own; and besides studying cello, piano, violin and several brass instruments at a professional level, also attended engineering school because his father thought a young man should have a "real" profession.

Not all interviewers repeat the key name at intervals. But Yaakov Agmon does. So in due course I learned I was listening to Shabtai Petruschka, now 81, originally of Leipzig, for 30 years a leading presence in Kol Yisrael's music department and its director from 1958 to 1968 — and a very prolific composer, arranger and conductor.

But don't for a moment think that it was all boring old Brahms and Beethoven. More than 50 years ago, Petruschka had his own jazz-combo and was in the front ranks of real European pop, playing for gramophone companies, films, and the theatre. And I mean still-popular pop, or classic pop; his jazz group nearly got the contract to play the music for Kurt Weill's *Threepenny Opera*. His failure to get that job, he said, was his biggest administrative slip-up.

At about the same time, though, he was also doing arrangements for

## DEFENSIVE LISTENING

RADIO / Helga Dudman

songs with titles like *Kadima Hapoeel*. From 1933 to 1938 he had a "good job" playing in the Jewish Symphony of Berlin, under the Jewish Cultural Committee, so it took him some years to get an aliyah certificate, which he finally did in 1938, joining what was then the Palestine Broadcasting Service soon after.

I confess that I have a great weakness for Yekkes who sound like Mr. Petruschka, old gentlemen speaking perfect Hebrew with an adorable, inimitable German accent, who came here so long ago from such a different world and who contributed so much here through all the changing years.

THESE DAYS with its expanded scope, the Voice of Music tries to please a broader audience, and in addition to the accepted repertoire, the editors offer everything from Pink Floyd to Tunisian folk music.

I am a great fan of the Voice of Music, but the noise level being what it is these days, I am sorry to say that I tune in increasingly for what I call Defensive Listening: that is, you try to let your radio neutralize the sur-

rounding din. (Air-conditioning is also widely used to make an airtight, sound-proof prison.) Not down out, for that would be impossible; just neutralize. But my new neighbour, the Tiberias Club Hotel, believes that if Loud is Good, Loudest is Best. As I write these lines, the hotel's amplified evening entertainment makes it impossible to know whether the poor old Voice of Music is offering Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* or Janis Xenakis' opus for 12 cello, to be played four times.

Dear Mr. Petruschka, do you worry about the increasing deafness of the oncoming generations? About the future of music? About the triumph of the loudspeaker and the amplifier?

"THERE ARE two kinds of people in the world," said a young male adult on a recent "Puss in Sandals" children's programme on the Second Channel, following the eight o'clock morning news. "Those who have a hard time getting up in the morning and come to life at night, and those who leap up mornings with a merry chuckle." He went on to embroider

this thesis but never came to grips with the specific relevance of the subject to a kids' broadcast.

The fact is that many very young children are still wandering around late at night as though they were mature Levantine bankers. Quite naturally, they have as much trouble getting up the next morning for their summer camp as a Levantine banker would have; and I'm positive their lack of sleep has much to do with their spectacularly frequent visits to the doctor for aches, drips and general hysteria. A six-year-old is still constructed like a six-year-old even in the computer age.

Again, as I write these lines, it is after 10 p.m. and the Club Hotel is Loudspeaking an "entertainment" for children. Tiny tots compete in singing songs, their tonsils engulfing the microphone as though it were an ice-cream cone. Every single tot is exuberantly off key. Nobody seems to know or care but me, Dear Mr. Petruschka, what should I do?

THANK GOODNESS the election campaign is over, and with it that idiotic law prohibiting electronic-media coverage of any candidate. Not that we are so badly off without them; but it is madness to create these two air-tight compartments — the inanity of campaign broadcasts, on the one hand, and the "purity" of the news, on the other. But it's all over now, and Gabi Gazit can come out of his self-imposed exile, calculated on the basis of: "If I can't say anything, why say anything?"

But how did that item on the tennis triumph over Switzerland slip

through, on the day before the election? That was obviously the result of the Likud years; and after all, if we beat Switzerland at tennis and we beat them at inflation, what else is left?

On Saturday's "Literary Party" on the First Channel, friends talked about Ya'acov Shabtai, the writer whose last work and literary testament, *Soi Duvor*, is making such an impact in literary circles. Among those present were Ziona Shimshi and Hanech Bar-Tov, Yoni Rechter and Sasha Argov. Dan Miron and Yehuda Ben-Ner very much an in-group — but it was a moving discussion even for those of us out in the provinces.

Shabtai wrote his final novel in the face of approaching death and left a manuscript composed of many alternative segments which were posthumously selected and edited by his widow, Edna Shavit.

I had the feeling that those who knew him and miss his friendship were somehow huddled together for warmth: their comments gave us a remarkably immediate verbal picture of the writer whose stylized likeness, as a beautiful young man, we had been seeing on the Tehiya posters but who, as was pointed out, was very much in the Other Camp.

A self-hating defeatist and pleasure-mad printer's devil improved the phrase "your own radio" to "your own car radio" when I wrote, last week, that you can no longer hear your own radio. As for car radios, the paradigm is this: an empty car, illegally parked, radio blaring.

approved by the manufacturer and the F.D.A., or if the labeling was not followed, on whether he can produce adequate medical justification for his usage of the drug.

In other words, the F.D.A. was of opinion that a practitioner who deviated from the indications exposed himself to a charge of negligence, and would have to show some medical justification for so doing. It was a mistake to think that the fact that a particular preparation was authorized meant that it was harmless.

There are many drugs the harm by which is caused are amply offset by their efficacy against a particular serious disease. In such a case the doctor takes a calculated risk in using the drug. That does not mean that there would be justification for using the same drug to cure some other disease, perhaps less serious, which can be treated in other ways. Moreover, a particular drug which may cause no harm to a patient in a certain condition may be harmful to someone else. It has accordingly been held in the United States that:

"Few if any drugs are completely safe in the sense that they may be taken by all persons in all circumstances without risk. Thus the commissioner generally considers a drug safe when the expected therapeutic gain justifies the risk entailed by its use...An otherwise harmless drug

can be dangerous to any patient if it does not produce its purported therapeutic effect."

IT MUST also be assumed, Justice Bach added, that the authorities would not take action if the drug was used for some condition reasonably close to those indicated, but it was difficult to find a connection between the treatment of sterility and slimming.

In conclusion, Justice Bach referred to counsel's argument that the petitioner had been misled by the Ministry of Health informing him, at the outset, that he was entitled to use the drug in question. Even if this is so, it had already been held by the Supreme Court that a competent authority was entitled to change its attitude if its original stand was unlawful, although this element could affect the question of costs.

For the above reasons the application would be dismissed, but no order made as to costs.

Dr. Amnon Goldenberg and Advocate Alex Heriman appeared for the petitioner, and Advocate Renato Yarak, Director of the High Court Division of the State Attorney's office, and Advocate Michal Shaked, Senior Assistant State Attorney, appeared for the respondents.

Judgment was given on April 22, 1984.

## A candidate's rabbi

By JUDY SIEGEL-ITZKOVITCH / Jerusalem Post Reporter

MOST AMERICAN presidential candidates are forced to gobble up lukewarm pizza, chili, knishes and spaghetti in the process of wooing the ethnic vote. But Walter Mondale, the Minnesota Protestant who is aiming to be the next president in the White House, voluntarily devoured a handful of *hamantaschen* last March while on his campaign plane.

The Purim delicacy was provided by the man known as "Mondale's rabbi" — Conservative Rabbi Bernard Raskas, of St. Paul, who has been close to "Fritz" Mondale for the past 25 years.

"Just think," enthuses the rabbi. "A potential president of the United States eating *hamantaschen* 30,000 feet up in the air."

A proclivity for the traditional Jewish treat does not necessarily signal a love for the Jewish people, but Raskas insists that the Minnesota Democrat's feelings for Israel run deep. And he says, Mondale is "surrounded" by Jews in his campaign.

A visitor to Israel three times in the past 18 years, Mondale "believes that Israel is vital to U.S. interests in the Middle East and he is impressed by its vital democracy. He is firmly democratic."

Raskas, rabbi of the Temple of Aaron Congregation for the last 33 years, first met Mondale in 1959, when the young Democrat was campaigning for the post of attorney-general of Minnesota.

"Fritz needed \$1,000 for his campaign and I was invited to a meeting of Jews before whom he spoke. He talked about his philosophy of life — not about Israel — and I was so touched and impressed that I got up and said: 'What if someday he becomes president of the U.S. and we let him go without helping him?'"

The Jews donated the \$1,000 and Mondale went on to win the post, advancing next to the Senate and then to being Jimmy Carter's vice-president.

Raskas describes the Democratic Party nominee as "a real mensch." As a Minnesota Norwegian, he says, Mondale is restrained, "the type who doesn't yell or shout or boast."

What of Mondale's reported overconfidence at the start of the primary campaign that nearly lost him the nomination, Raskas concedes: "He was over-confident, but it was a sweet over-confidence."

Raskas and his wife, Leah, have, he says, maintained close contacts with Mondale over the years, hosting him in their Jerusalem apartment and showing the Mondales around when they visit Israel.

Raskas insists that Mondale — who joined the Soviet Jewry campaign in its early days — is always willing to help the Jewish community, a fact, Raskas says, which was particularly evident when he was a senator and vice-president.

"When Mondale was elected along with Jimmy Carter, I always got royal treatment in the White House," he says.

HOW DOES the St. Paul rabbi explain Mondale's campaign, on behalf of Carter, for Senate approval of the sale of F-16 fighter planes to Saudi Arabia? "A vice-president cannot disagree publicly with his president," says Raskas. "But Mondale did try to fight against Carter on the issue in private." Ronald Reagan, he adds, "fought viciously" in his campaign to win Senate approval of the sale of AWACS planes for the Saudis.

Raskas, who has a number of Republicans in his 1,300-family congregation, is permitted to campaign for Mondale, but he is careful not to speak politics from the pulpit. He regularly meets with Jewish leaders and rabbinical colleagues and urges them to support Mondale for the presidency. And he is proud of a warm letter, signed "Fritz," which Mondale wrote him in April, thanking him for "all those great communications you have sent all over the country in my behalf. I want you to know they helped, and I am grateful." (The interview was conducted before Mondale named Bert Lance, who has Arab connections, to a prominent role in the campaign.)

Raskas remembers going to visit Mondale four years ago when Carter — and his vice-president — lost the election to Reagan and George Bush. "There was no one else there except for his family and me. I felt like I was making a *shivah* call. But he told me: 'Bernie, tonight we're starting the campaign again, and this time we'll do it right.'"

Mondale, he believes, now has an excellent chance of winning the presidency, especially following his "brilliant stroke" of choosing New York Catholic Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate.

"He wasn't hesitant, he was cautious," says Raskas, by way of explaining the delay in selecting Mondale's vice-presidential candidate. Before the choice, "95 per cent of the Jews I spoke to — I'm a delegate to the Jewish Agency Assembly — were for Mondale. Now even more will vote for him."

In the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice, before Justice Yehuda Cohen, Justice Gavriel Bach and Justice Shoshana Natanyahu in the matter of Reuven Sibet, Petitioner versus the minister of health, the director-general of the ministry of health, respondents (H.C. 70/80)

THE PETITIONER was the owner and manager of two slimming institutes known as "The International Centres for Slimming." Clients in the institutes were given treatment, under the supervision of a qualified doctor, according to the "Simons" system, based on a strict diet combined with daily injections of the hormone H.C.F. marketed in Israel under the name Chorigon. Chorigon is registered under the Pharmacists (Medicinal Preparations) Regulations of 1977 issued under the Pharmacists Ordinance, with a number of indications as to its use, including the treatment of sterility. Assistance in slimming, however, is not included. According to the petitioner, Chorigon contains elements which eliminate fat and dissipate accumulations of fat in specific portions of the body, thus giving the body a more esthetic appearance.

Shortly after the opening of the institutes the petitioner had been given to understand by the Ministry of Health that since the treatment was given under the supervision of an authorised physician, there was no objection to its use. Later, however, after further consideration by experts, the ministry changed its stand, and suggested to the petitioner to initiate an amendment to the regulations to permit the use of Chorigon for the purpose of slimming. The petitioner declined to do so, and applied to the High Court of Justice for an order directing the ministry to permit him to continue to use Chorigon for the purpose stated. Thereafter, by consent of the parties, a panel of experts was appointed by the ministry to examine the possibility of adding "assistance in slimming" to the indications specified in the regulations. The panel, however, rejected this possibility on the grounds that the value of the drug for this purpose had not been established, and that there was not sufficient basis for finding that the drug, when used for this purpose, would not be harmful to health. The petitioner then asked the court for its decision.

The judgment of the court was given by Justice Gavriel Bach. The arguments advanced by counsel for the petitioner, he said, fell into two categories. It had been argued, firstly, that under the relevant provisions of the Physicians Ordinance (New Version) of 1976, there was no res-

## Sterility and slimming

LAW REPORT / Asher Felix Landau

triction on the discretion of a doctor in treating his patient personally in his own premises, and he was entitled to use any drug which in his opinion would help his patient. According to counsel, any restriction on the discretion of doctors must be found in the Physicians Ordinance alone.

The decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, in the Ma'ayan case (H.C. 30/82, see *The Jerusalem Post* of March 21, 1982) which held that a doctor was not entitled to use a drug not registered under the above regulations, was incorrect, and should not be followed. Secondly, counsel had argued that if the Pharmacists Regulations did apply, recognition of the use of Chorigon for certain purposes was sufficient, and the fact that assistance in slimming was not mentioned in the indications laid down made no difference.

Justice Bach then analysed the relevant provisions of the Physicians Ordinance and the Pharmacists Ordinance and also certain provisions in the Helsinki Declaration adopted at the 18th World Medical Congress in 1964 as amended at the 29th Congress in Tokyo in 1975, referred to by counsel for the petitioner, and held that since the two ordinances must be read together, the regulations prohibiting the use of unregistered drugs, although issued under the latter ordinance and not the former, were fully binding on medical practitioners. The decision in the Ma'ayan case, therefore, was correct, and he agreed, as was then held, that the risks involved in giving doctors a free hand to use any drug they choose, even though unauthorized and not properly tested, far outweighed the benefits which would result from such use.

RULES CANNOT be laid down on the basis of the opinions of individual doctors, no matter how eminent from the point of view of their professional skill, medical experience or sense of responsibility. The possibility that seriously ill patients, or their families, would invest all their savings in "wonder cures," untried and even harmful, and neglect conventional treatment which could give them total or partial relief, was

by no means fanciful or unrealistic. Counsel's alternative argument was also unacceptable. Justice Bach continued, for legally speaking, and on principle, there was no distinction between using a drug which was not authorised at all, and using an authorised drug for a purpose not included in the indications prescribed. Regulation 3(a) expressly prohibited the use of a preparation "...unless registered under these Regulations and in accordance with such registration."

Moreover, in the form prescribed for an application to register a drug, the applicant is required to state the purpose of its use, and the indications requested. Under the regulations, the Director-General of the Ministry of Health is not permitted to register the preparation, or renew a registration, "unless convinced that it is effective for the purpose for which it is intended," and he may authorize a change in the composition of the preparation, its name or its indications, and must register such a change. He may also cancel the registration of a preparation if satisfied that it is unsuitable for the purpose for which it was intended.

Justice Bach added that he was also by no means satisfied that the above interpretation of regulation 3(a) was contrary to the public interest. Counsel for the petitioner had relied on the stand taken by the Food and Drug Administration in the United States that "any physician may administer a drug for an unauthorized use," and that "if the drug was actually safe as proven by clinical experience, a physician should not be restricted in his desire to use the drug for a new indication which could save lives, reduce disease or pain and suffering." At least a partial explanation for this attitude could be found in the very wide application of the law of negligence in the United States in the area of medical practice. In fact, in the work of Dixon on Drug Product Liability, from which the above extracts were cited, it is said that:

"They have taken the position that the physician generally is aware, however, that in any legal case which might ensue, the issue of his liability may turn on whether he followed the drug labeling (package insert) know what to do about 'anemone': they need a spelling dictionary or they'd never know what to do about anything; and they need every kind of guide, from Fowler to Partridge, to keep them from making fools of themselves and write who for whom and which for that."

What's peculiar about English, though, is that with all its vast vocabulary, some of the most vital words are missing from the language. English has no *maileh*, no *davka*, no *harei*, and no *kvar* as in "come already" it has to turn to Yiddish, neither a *yente* nor a *yachne*, nor a grave lacuna — a proper *nu*. It once used to have different words for the singular and plural "you" but stupidly gave that up, reducing people to barbarisms such as *yous-two* or *you-folks*.

It has no feminine designation either, so that while Hebrew plays hell with gender, one at least always knows whether a doctor, a teacher, a singer or a friend is male or female.

To conclude, there's little to choose between Hebrew and English: they're both illogical, inconsistent and capricious, along with every other language in the world.

## AS SHE IS SPOKE

RANDOMALIA  
Miriam Arad

HAVING REMARKED on the difficulty of Hebrew a while back, let's look at English and see if it's any easier. It isn't of course. It's harder — in only because there is more of it. English being a notoriously rich language. Translated, this means that a foreigner has a great many words to memorize, while no native can ever hope to know even half the vocabulary of his mother tongue.

But that isn't the worst of it. The two horrors of English are spelling and pronunciation. Of the first of these, much has been said, but as usual no one has done anything about it; and if they tried, like CBS they failed. The British aristocracy had the right idea considering it beneath them to learn how to spell and letting their writing be done for them by underlings.

The trouble with pronunciation, which is really just the other side of the coin, is that any resemblance between the written and the spoken word is purely coincidental. Even derivations can't be trusted, e.g. vine and vineyard, or compare and comparable, which isn't cricket.

There's no guessing in English because the whole system doesn't

make sense, or else why shouldn't ally rhyme with tally, amiable with liable or ice with malice — which the latter, contrary to an honest man's expectation, does not mean bad ice. It's no doubt also for the sake of confounding honest men that a chap whom everyone calls You turns out to be named Hugh, whereas his fellow, called You'n, is Ewan.

Names, while we're about them, are a great puzzle altogether. How, for instance, is a poor foreigner to know that when you talk of Dick you mean Richard, that every John is also a Jack, and every Celia, can you beat it, a Kitty? Sure, I know, there are sound historical reasons for that. There always are for everything, but that's small comfort to bewildered strangers.

Or to natives, for that matter, for there's no language on earth whose native speakers need so many reference books to help them get it right. They need a pronouncing dictionary — and no wonder, or they'd never

MINI

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## The danger of over-rating electronics

# Textiles are also high-technology

Radnshitzky knows. His company, Emek, set up a pilot plant in South Africa in 1981 and a fully fledged plant is now coming into full production.

But the South African constellation does not threaten Israel, or other countries which produce high-quality clothing and fashions. "It will take many years before the South Africans can upgrade their textile

**POWER.** — Italy has agreed to give Egypt a \$50 million loan to help finance power projects under its current five year plan, the Middle East news agency reported last week.

Academy 5:45, 7:30, 9:40; Mary Poppins 11, 1:45; Aristocats 3:55; Chen 2; Return of Martin Guerre 9:45; Aristocats 11, 1:45, 3:30, 7:40; Chen 3; Terms of Endearment 5:45, 7:40; Aristocats 9:45; Chen 4; Chen 4; Robinson Crusoe 11, 1:45, 3:45, 5:40; Chen 5; Cross Creek 7:30, 9:45; Billy 11, 1:45, 5:30; Cleopatra: One; Breakdancer 5, 7:40, 9:40; Cleopatra Two; Yentl 4:30, 7, 9:40; Chen 2; Extremator 11, 5, 7:40, 9:40; Dekalb 1941 at 4:30; Drive-In: Maye the Be a 1:15; California, sex film 12:15 midnight; Esther: Estuamante 11, 5, 7:30, 9:30; French Indochina: Burning Land (Terre Brulante) 5, 7:15, 9:30; Gods: Aromancing the Stone 5, 7:40, 9:40; Goddess: Rumors 6, 7:50, 9:50; Once Upon a Time in the West 3:45; Hot: Bad Street: Lee E. La

Takes Girl 4:30; Muddy River 7, 9:15

**RAMAT GAN**  
Anarchy: Police Academy 7:40, 9:40; Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp 4, 6; Lady: Return of Martin Guerre 7:15, 9:30; Maye the Be 4; Oasis: Romancing the Stone 5, 7:40, 9:40; Ordeal: Yentl 4:30, 7:30, 9:30; Ramat Gan: The Man Who Loved Women 9:40, 9:30, 9:30

**HERZLIVA**  
David: Gorky Park 7:15, 9:30; Tiberet: Return of Martin Guerre 7:40, 9:30; Bedik: nobs and Broonsicks 5

**ROLON**  
Mistake: Risky Business 9:40; Mary Popp







Ari Rath  
Editor and  
Managing Director

**THE JERUSALEM  
POST**

Erwin Frenkel  
Editor

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## No sooner than...

WITH the election campaign scarcely behind us, Mr. Cohen-Orad's Treasury has begun to talk about the need for recessionary steps.

Real wages must be cut, subsidies must be reduced, credit facilities must be curtailed. The Finance Minister is no doubt counting on the public's short memory, since the Likud's entire election campaign as regards economic policy was based on the scare tactic that Labour was the party of recession.

Or, and this may be even closer to the truth, the Likud knew that its public knew that this propaganda line was not credible, but simply enjoyed the argument.

In either case, Cohen-Orad can feel free to say and do the reverse of what the Likud espoused during the campaign.

But there is one carry-over from the campaign. In response to the criticism of the government's economic performance, the Likud strategists whipped out the claim that the fault lay with Labour and the Histadrut. The Histadrut's unwillingness to agree to a "package deal" on wages and prices was the root cause of the country's rampant inflation.

It was this and not the government's spending and not the government's pump-priming to woo the electorate into a false sense of prosperity, that was the cause of our economic woes.

This line still prevails. It is now being deployed to try to bludgeon the Histadrut into acquiescence, and failing that, to justify the steps the Treasury, in desperation, feels it must take.

Histadrut secretary-general Israel Kessar does not intend to be stampeded, however. He insists, and rightly so, on a total policy framework. Such a framework would include a reordering of priorities in the allocation of public resources and guarantees that the economic burdens resulting from lowered government expenditures would be shared equally and not fall solely on the shoulders of salaried employees.

He and his fellows in the Histadrut argue that such a new framework of policy cannot be formulated and implemented by a transition government. It lacks the mind, the cohesion and the will to do so.

Rigorous revamping of economic policy can only be expected from a new government, and until established the present regime can only engage in technical administrative adjustments.

The stage is being set, therefore, for a confrontation between Cohen-Orad and the Histadrut. But it is doubtful whether that clash will be joined in earnest. For even if the Likud were to succeed in the end in establishing a government coalition, there is every reason to assume that Cohen-Orad may not be the Finance Minister. That post, in all likelihood, would have to go to another coalition partner. And no such prospective partner would want to have Cohen-Orad sour relations with Mr. Kessar and the Histadrut in advance.

So while there may be much brave talk about the government's need to rule and the broad scope granted by law to a transition government, the political realities have imperatives of their own.

The country is left, therefore, to stew in the juices produced by the Likud's profligate economic policies and the deadlocked outcome of the elections.

# The conditions for peace

By HENRY A. KISSINGER

IT IS NEARLY nine months since the Soviets walked out of the major arms-control negotiations. In this age of the peril of nuclear catastrophe, the West must contribute creative policies towards resuming the dialogue. And the beginning of creativity must be a diagnosis of the problem, free of clichés and stereotypes.

The notion that American lack of ingenuity in devising new negotiating formulas is a major contributor to the diplomatic stalemate is not only wrong, it is dangerous because it removes Soviet incentives for serious dialogue.

Three facts must be faced:

□ The erratic early phases of the Reagan administration are not fundamentally at fault. Soviet behaviour is:

□ Importuning the Soviets to resume negotiations they should never have left will not break the impasse. It is indeed likely to deepen the stalemate.

□ If peace becomes the sole objective for foreign policy, blackmail will rule diplomacy. Fervent proclamations of the desire for peace are not a foreign policy. The concept of peace must be given a concrete content.

NO DOUBT the strident anti-Soviet rhetoric and the episodic policy-making of the early Reagan administration inflamed Soviet attitudes. Yet it is also true that the administration has made clear, almost apologetically, its eagerness to negotiate. Every overture has been rebuffed. As the administration has reversed its earlier attitude the Soviet Union has raised the ante.

East-West negotiations should be as inevitable as they are necessary. The perils of the nuclear age weigh equally heavily on both sides. Whatever its defiant rhetoric, the Soviet system - wrecked by economic crisis, facing a wholesale replacement of its aged leadership - needs a respite at least as much as the West.

Each side must recognize that it is condemned to coexistence whatever the ideological differences. Neither side has the right to define its own security in terms that increase the insecurity of the adversary.

Current Soviet negotiating positions can be most charitably described as one-sided. The United States is clearly willing to make an agreement limiting missiles based in Europe to a low number. Yet the Soviet Union adamantly insists that

the 41 U.S. Pershings and Cruise missiles in Europe with single warheads now confronting more than 350 Soviet SS-20s with multiple warheads must be withdrawn prior to any further negotiation.

What that negotiation would then involve is not clear. The Soviets' purpose must be to achieve the beginning of the neutralization of Europe by establishing a Soviet veto over NATO's nuclear deployment.

The same nearly contemptuous intransigence characterizes the Soviet approach towards demilitarizing outer space. Surely there is something grotesque about the Soviet insistence that priority be given to talks on weapons that will not exist for a decade while weapons being built daily are to be excluded from the dialogue.

That such an irrational proposition could put the Reagan administration on the public defensive shows that for far too many the desire for negotiations overwhelms an analysis of their substance.

THERE MAY BE several reasons for Soviet conduct. Perhaps the Soviet Union wants to prevent the administration from claiming that its early rhetoric was no obstacle to diplomatic progress. Conceivably the septuagenarian Soviet leaders are engulfed in a permanent succession crisis and are not able to muster the requisite coherence for a consistent negotiating strategy. Or the Kremlin may believe that it is on to a strategy that is working: to isolate the United States by exploiting the West's nervousness with deadlock.

Remarkably, this nervousness is being evoked almost entirely by Soviet rhetoric. Soviet actions have been extremely cautious. There have not been in recent years any significant geopolitical challenges. The Soviets have pursued essentially psychological warfare. They seek to substitute words for deeds.

A deadlock of this kind cannot possibly be broken by Western importuning. How many more times must the President retract an incautious statement made before a specialized audience over two years ago.

How many more Western statesmen must journey to Moscow seeking to revive negotiations wrecked by the Soviets? Does Washington really require allied ministers to certify its sincerity in the Soviet capital?

Or does this dithering convince the Soviets that intransigence pays because it demoralizes the West and elicits unilateral concessions?

Most of the so-called "remedies" offered for the crisis in East-West relations are therefore likely to backfire.

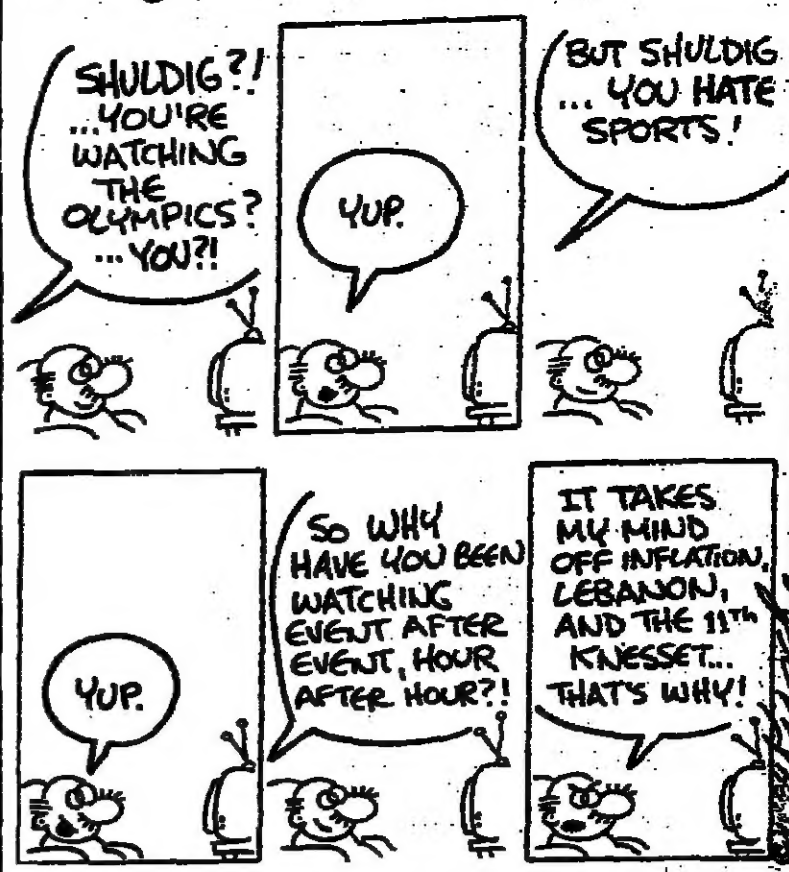
A case in point is the old standby advocated by many and accepted in principle by the administration: An early summit meeting between the Soviet and American presidents. There is no instance in the post-war period where an unprepared summit did not rapidly lead to a worsening of relations. Summit meetings are best used to confirm and dramatize agreements already worked out. They are not intellectual forums to break a deadlock. Contestants can rarely act as their own umpires. And a failed summit does not return matters to the starting point. Ground is lost because the prestige of the heads of state is engaged.

Congressional efforts to lay down specific negotiating conditions also complicate diplomatic prospects. For example, MX missile deployment has been approved only if no negotiations have taken place by a certain date. This puts the Soviets in the position to stop a major United States procurement programme by the simple device of returning to conferences they never should have left.

To make matters worse, in every Western country except France the opposition parties demand even more essentially unilateral concessions. To preempt criticism, governments are thus tempted into pleas, reassurances, and proposals irrelevant to or inconsistent with their more prudent judgements. This is surely a factor in the diffidence with which the American administration has responded to one-sided Soviet proposals and the eagerness with which it has sought negotiations on the most peripheral - occasionally trivial - subjects. What started as a Soviet tactic - possibly nurtured by Western clumsiness - thus may develop a momentum destructive of rational dialogue.

The desirability of negotiations cannot be an issue. Their content must be. Let peace turn into a slogan to demoralize the fearful and to seduce the wishful. We cannot talk the Soviets into returning to the conference table. But we do have an opportunity to prepare ourselves for

## Dry Bones



when their sense of reality impels them to do so.

The best use of the current period of stalemate is to clarify our own programme for peace:

□ I see no point in opening talks on outer space in the middle of the U.S. election campaign when the bipartisanship necessary to sustain results is in short supply, when the Soviets may be tempted to embarrass a disliked administration, and the administration may be inhibited by the fear of the political consequences of a perceived failure. The militarization of space is not likely to progress in the six weeks between the projected opening day of September 19 in Vienna and the November 3 U.S. election.

The administration should put an end to Soviet attempts to impose a one-sided agenda and postpone talks to a fixed date soon after the election. The administration's approach of turning the other cheek to Soviet pressure tactics, as expressed by the Soviet Foreign Ministry last Friday, will advance neither the prospect of space talks nor the improvement of East-West relations.

□ The time has come to face the fact that arms control negotiations do not provide the best forum for fundamental breakthroughs. On each side, positions - and assessments of the adversary's positions - emerge from a process that places a premium on the esoteric advice of experts who have studied the subject for more years than governmental leaders have spent hours on it. Leaders must find their way through technical gobbledegook upon which their diplomacy depends but which they have no criteria to assess. This is bound to increase the congenial insecurity of high office - whether in Washington or Moscow - and lends itself to bureaucratic power-plays incomprehensible to the other side.

There is no technological way around a political negotiation. The most audacious reduction of strategic arms conceivable - say four-fifths of existing arsenals - would leave enough warheads in the possession of each side (more than 5,000) to devastate humanity if political conflicts get out of hand.

□ Thus neither the United States nor the Soviet Union will be able to avoid a serious political dialogue. While it is unrealistic to seek to ban political competition in an ideologically divided world, it is essential to define its scope. Otherwise crises can too easily be driven out of control by the inability to communicate.

□ Such an exploration need not wait for the American election, Moscow and Washington could begin immediately by seeking to define - on a confidential and unpublished basis - the objectives for East-West relations over the next two to five years. Only a political

understanding will enable meaningful instructions to be issued to the technicians of arms control. If such an understanding is not attainable, arms control negotiations will either stalemate or become a propaganda forum.

□ With respect to the space negotiations, the interval between now and the U.S. election should be used to develop a position on the relationship between offensive and defensive forces. Without it we will be whipsawed both at the conference table and at home.

□ Urgent consultations should take place between the United States and its NATO allies on what will surely be the first Soviet move when the Kremlin decides to reopen negotiations on European-based missiles. An offer to return to the conference table if the allies freeze their build-up - guaranteeing the Soviets an edge of eight to one. Even more important is a commonly agreed upon analysis of long-term Soviet strategy because seriously differing interpretations now being swept under the rug prevent the emergence of a unified allied response. And the resolution of the disputes over NATO strategy is central to both a realistic defence as well as a realistic arms control policy.

In an ideal world these principles would be implemented in the United States on a bipartisan basis. Nothing would spur negotiations more than a demonstration of unity on foreign policy objectives, which the winner of the election in November will require in any event. Bipartisan forums exist - like the Scowcroft Commission - to study the strategic issues. And, who knows, it might even turn out to be good politics to liberate a presidential campaign from quick fixes or apocalyptic appeals.

But the Reagan administration should pursue this course even if we are too close to the election to work out bipartisan restraint before November 6. In truth it has no choice. In the long run democracy can thrive only if one assumes that good policy is compatible with good politics.

Good policy requires that we deal with these challenges: To convey clearly that the Kremlin cannot make itself a factor in our elections; To commit our nation to serious and comprehensive negotiations; To establish criteria by which to judge progress.

Commitment to the goal of peace must be allied with a definition of the content of peace. Such a course would give us the staying power until reciprocal necessities - not unilateral, demeaning pleas - move the Soviets to seek with us the basis for a just and honourable settlement.

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## POSTSCRIPTS

**PS** A New South African film telling a poignant tale of racial prejudice has created another story off screen - its leading coloured (mixed race) actor will not be able to see its first general release.

The Afrikaans-language film *Brother Manie* concerns a group of conservative white church elders who agonize over whether to let a coloured priest conduct a burial service for his white benefactor.

It is being shown at segregated whites-only cinemas, and so Simon Bruders, who plays the priest, cannot take his friends and family to see it.

He will have to wait until it is shown at desegregated drive-in cinemas or privately owned cinemas in South Africa's black and coloured townships.

**PS** TWO STONE heads thought to have been carved by Amedeo Modigliani have been recovered from a canal 75 years after their creator threw them into it in a fit of pique.

The heads were found in Livorno, Italy after a week of dredging supervised by the director of a local museum.

Experts have been called in to verify the heads. The artist is said to have dropped them into the canal in a gesture of exasperation with critics.

An official of the museum, which is holding an exhibition to mark the centenary of the artist's birth, said the heads appeared to be in the style of Modigliani.

**PS** A \$12-MILLION plan to protect the world's whales and other marine mammals offers new hope for species threatened with extinction, a UN Environment Programme expert says.

Ecologist Bent Nielsen told a press conference that the plan envisions the creation of sanctuaries for whales and other marine mammals as well as the imposition of limits on catches.

The plan was adopted by UNEP's governing council and has been endorsed by the annual conference of the International Whaling Commission.

**PS** MENDI RODAN, the Israeli Sinfonietta's musical director, was all fired up recently. "This city does not deserve the conductor it has or the orchestra it has," he fumed. "It deserves a fireman band playing outdoors."

Rodan was speaking in shirt-sleeves, his forehead beaded with sweat. The air conditioner at Beer-sheva's Conservatory Hall, the small auditorium which serves as the orchestra's home base, had broken down and nobody in town knew how to fix it. Workers had come in the afternoon to take the system apart, but they could not put it back together again.

The concert was not cancelled and the audience braved the conditions at it warmed up to the two French singers in the all-Offenbach evening. During the intermission, they bought out the programmes, which they used as fans. They gave the orchestra and soloists a standing ovation and asked for more.

The soprano changed back into her casual street clothes during intermission. "I love the heat," she bubbled. The tenor threw off his jacket, as did the musicians. Then they took off their ties and rolled up their sleeves. The atmosphere was friendly. But Rodan could not be appeased.

The mayor, who had promised to build a proper auditorium years ago and still claims that he has no funds, has meanwhile recently approved two small halls for the local labour council. L.M.

**PS** CONGREGATION Temple of Aaron in St. Paul, Minnesota has installed changing tables in the men's and ladies' rooms in the synagogue, so that parents can bring along infants and change their diapers when necessary. The rabbi of the Conservative congregation, Bernard Raskas, says that facilities were set up in both lavatories because fathers want to have an equal part in raising their children - even changing nappies.

A special Shabbat service is conducted at the synagogue for children aged from birth to five, in which toddlers climb all over the rabbi, who sits low on steps.

J.S.I.

## READERS' LETTERS

### EDUCATION IN ISRAEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - While I am glad to inform Alignment MK Ora Namir that I am in full agreement with her assessment of Israeli education as a most worrying failure (July 19), I regret to tell her that this is where my agreement ends. Before proceeding, I wish to put on record that I have (reluctantly) voted Labour for many years and that my own experience in education (from elementary to university level) is about twice as long as hers.

Of the questionable points made by her I shall dwell shortly on two only. The percentage of students among Palestinians is, she says, by one third higher than that of Israelis; this sounds spurious as even the absolute number of Palestinians fluctuates between 600,000 and a couple of million, depending on the definition.

Namir also claims that the high percentage of illiterates among IDF recruits is due to neglect on the part of the Likud since the boys "were 11 years old when Likud came to power, so they cannot shift the blame onto anyone else." That these youths should have learned how to read and write before the age of 11, i.e. when Labour was still in power, is conveniently overlooked by the learned lady who hopes we will swallow her arguments by using ready-made slogans such as democracy and tolerance even when they are not relevant.

However, these are trifles in comparison with weightier matters. Namir does not know the difference between education and instruction. Standards in the latter may indeed have declined, but she should know better than to ascribe this solely to a political party and impute to the present government the intentional undermining of the country's intellectual elite. It is true that the level of skills and knowledge, particularly in the exact sciences, may deteriorate rapidly, but, as any parent will confirm, it may improve again almost as rapidly with intensified instruction.

Other things are not so easily rectified, e.g. education. It is most probable that the present chauvinist attitude of the young Israeli must be attributed to the Likud's general policy. Other characteristics of his, such as bad taste, arrogance, acquisitiveness, lack of civic responsibility, contempt for the Gola together with the wish to emigrate there and disdain for Jewishness, are the results of two generations of Labour-led educational policy. These traits, unfortunately, are much harder to eradicate and I can only hope that this job will not be entrusted to Mrs. Namir as Minister of Education in a new cabinet. I voted Labour in spite of Namir's counterproductive *cri de coeur* although I much prefer Hammer's diffident smile to Namir's ungracious grimace.

Professor Y.T. RADDAY  
Haifa.

### VERBAL ASSAULT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - Recently, I accompanied a group of youngsters (who are spending the summer here in Israel) on an archaeological lecture in and "dig" in the Old City. We were appropriately dressed for the occasion in shorts and T-shirts.

After about three hours in the hot sun, several teenagers and I approached the police station in the Western Wall vicinity to inquire where the nearest toilet facilities were. Before the guard at the door could answer us, Zvi Hoffman, an employee of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in charge of the workers, stomped out of the station and began to assault us verbally, calling me a prostitute and screaming uncontrollably.

Does such vulgarity enhance the sanctity of the Holy Places? Will such animal-like behaviour deepen the commitments of those whom we bring here to be sensitized Jewishly?

I know that Israelis have far more serious problems on their minds and hearts than the aberrant conduct of one of their civil servants. Yet it is out of the relationship of individuals that the fabric of the larger society is fashioned.

RHEA SCHINDLER

Jerusalem (Westport, Conn.).

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